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THE LONDON QUARTERLY AND HOLBORN REVIEW

EDITOR: LESLIE F. CHURCH, B.A., Ph.D.

OCTOBER 1947

Price 2s. 6d.

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LONDON
EPWORTH PRESS
EDGAR C. BARTON
25 · 35 · CITY ROAD · E.C.1

The London Quarterly and Holborn Review

LITERATURE HISTORY SOCIOLOGY
RELIGION THEOLOGY PHILOSOPHY

Editor: LESLIE F. CHURCH, B.A., Ph.D.

The London Quarterly and Holborn Review is published on the 25th of March, June, September, and December by the Epworth Press, 25-35 City Road, London, E.C.1. It may be obtained from the publishers or any bookseller and from all Methodist ministers at 2s. 6d. a copy (postage 3d.) or 10s. per annum, post free.

All contributions (typewritten, if possible), should be addressed to The Editor, 'The London Quarterly and Holborn Review', 25-35 City Road, E.C.1, with stamped addressed envelope for return in case of non-acceptance.

DEEDS—NOT WORDS!

To redress human wrong is a true knightly impulse. It was this impulse which led to the foundation of the National Children's Home 78 years ago, and it is still the inspiration of all its work.

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NATIONAL CHILDREN'S HOME

CHIEF OFFICES: Highbury Park, London, N.3



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Editorial Comments

THE BRITISH RECORD IN THE SUDAN

FOR nearly fifty years the Sudan has been in a large measure the responsibility of Great Britain. In 1898 it was reconquered by an Anglo-Egyptian force under Lord Kitchener. The Mahdia had come to an end, and in 1899 the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement established the new Constitution. This took the form of a condominium, and was confirmed by the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936. Today the future of the Sudan is being discussed, and the result will have considerable importance in the development of the Middle East. How far the Sudanese would benefit by complete independence, or how capable the Egyptians are of undertaking partial control of the Sudan, are debatable questions, but it is an opportune moment for the parties concerned to render an account of their stewardship. This is rightly described by the present Sudan Government as 'a record of progress'. Indeed, there are few places in the world where such complicated problems have been faced and where such gallant efforts have been made to work out progressive solutions with such slender resources.

It has been no slight task to undertake the administration of almost a million square miles, with a population of between four and five millions of Arabic-speaking Moslems in the north, and two and a half millions of 'primitive and pagan African tribes' in the south, speaking many dialects and living by widely differing tribal customs.

In spite of all the difficulties, astonishing progress has been made with little question of financial reward. As far as British administration is concerned, the Sudan has been regarded as a sacred trust. In reviewing one side of the work, Professor Frankel says: 'There can be no doubt that the economic development of the Sudan in the twentieth century has been a remarkable achievement, and one which, in many respects, can be regarded as a model for other African countries.' The economic record is, however, only a part of the story.

The development of local self-government has been guided with the utmost consideration for native Sudanese authorities. The authoritative report, issued by the Sudan Government, reminds us of their aim, stated by Sir Lee Stack in 1921 in words used by the Rajah of Sarawak fifty years before, to leave local administration as far as possible in the hands of the native population, 'starting from things as it finds them, putting its veto on what is dangerous and unjust, and supporting what is fair and equitable in the usage of the natives'.

This ideal has been the guiding principle, not only in the administrative and judicial systems, but also in educational affairs, in agriculture and commerce, in fiscal administration, and in the medical services, which have made such remarkable progress. The most difficult problems were and still are to be found in the Southern Sudan. Generations of slave-traders had raided the tribes, and it was natural that they should be suspicious of Anglo-Egyptian attempts to re-establish public security. It was essential that 'a

protective barrier should be raised against northern merchants' if the confidence of the mixed southern population was to be won. The position is stated frankly in the official report recently issued. Its many-sided problems are having their effect on the present complicated political situation. It would be absurd to expect that the people of the Sudan could speak with a common voice or indeed that the majority of the people were sufficiently well informed to be capable of balanced judgement.

From the beginning, however, the aim has been to raise the standard of education of the whole people and to provide facilities not only in the towns, but also in the wide and primitive areas, so that Sudanese might be appointed to all public services as soon as they were qualified for such duties. In 1902 Gordon College was opened as a primary school in Khartoum, and Lord Cromer stressed the most urgent need of securing educated young men 'to occupy the subordinate places in the administration of their country'. This was only the first stage in the policy of Sudanization which has continued for nearly fifty years. Junior administrative officers, teachers, engineers were gradually trained to fill responsible positions. Today 112 Sudanese are in the senior division of the Civil Service. This is one-fifth of the total establishment, and is in itself a most remarkable achievement.

The educational policy was hampered at first by lack of funds, by the indifference of the peasants, and by the reluctance of the town-dweller to accept technical or manual instruction, 'which he regarded as the adjunct of slavery'. The De la Warr Commission, originally appointed for East Africa, accepted the request of the Governor-General to include the Sudan in its investigations in 1936-7. Its members reported favourably on the general policy and recommended 'further rapid and extensive improvement at all levels'. The result, in spite of the obstacles of the war years, has been astonishing.

Today there are 239 village schools in the northern Sudan with an average of fifty scholars each. A programme for the extension of elementary schools during the period 1947-56 will, if completed, bring educational facilities to 56 per cent. of town boys and 29 per cent. in country districts. Teacher training establishments exist in two centres, and a third is planned for 1948. There are thirteen intermediate schools and two excellent secondary schools which will soon be able to accommodate a thousand boarders. In addition the King Farouk School has been built by the Egyptian Ministry of Education, for Egyptian children living in Khartoum.

The Gordon College is the centre for higher education. It has gradually widened its scope until it includes a medical school, and what will presently become faculties of Science and of Arts when, as is now imminent, it is given the full status of a University. (It is semi-autonomous, with a Council, several of whose members are Sudanese.)

Technical education is developing rapidly, and includes facilities at various centres for the instruction of stone-masons, metal-workers, and other 'specialist' classes.

Perhaps the most noteworthy educational achievement is the establishment of sixty-nine Government schools for girls. This is a remarkable triumph over prejudice and is due in no small measure to the influence of certain missionary

societies and a few sympathizers who have fought ceaselessly to emancipate the women of the Sudan.

Progress has been much slower in the pagan and primitive south. Fine work has been done by Christian missionary workers who were the pioneers of education in the southern Sudan. Today there is a Resident Inspector, and a beginning has been made in the establishment of elementary, central, intermediate, and trade schools. The bush schools have been reorganized, and the future outlook is promising.

Since the prosperity of the Sudan depends on the development of agriculture and the promotion of animal husbandry, the authorities have had to concentrate on certain major problems. These are chiefly concerned with irrigation and with the control of the tsetse fly and similar pests. Regional differences in rainfall have meant specialized treatment, and much experimental work has been done.

Amongst the most interesting of the projects has been the development of the Gezira Scheme. This came into being after the completion of the Sennar Dam on the Blue Nile, with its intricate canal system. Since the interests of Egypt were involved, a special international commission was set up in 1925, and four years later the Nile Waters Agreement was accepted by both countries. It is well that armchair politicians who airily dismiss the responsibilities of empire as trifling should consider this one example out of the many which might be quoted. The Sudan's share of the Nile waters is limited. To quote again the official document: 'The Sudan Government must make the optimum use of the water available for the development of the Sudan and must safeguard the interests of Egypt in the Nile waters.' This means a measured consumption of water in the restricted period, various compensations for loss by evaporation, etc., and an annual return of surplus water to Egypt from the Sennar reservoir.

The Gezira Scheme is not only proving of great economic value in the development of 900,000 acres, but it is of interest as a social experiment. It is based on a threefold partnership between the State, the people, i.e. native cultivators, and two cotton companies. This arrangement with the third partner was made for financial considerations, the Government having already made heavy outlay in building the dam and the canals. The shares are allocated in the following proportions: Tenant 40 per cent., Government 40 per cent., and cotton companies 20 per cent. The comment of Dr. B. A. Keen in his recently published book, *The Agricultural Development of the Middle East*, is that 'The Gezira is, in fact, an illustration of how agricultural progress and rural development can best be made'.

The student of sociology might profitably consider this scheme in its relation to present problems of nationalization in Britain. The official statement of the Sudan Government is as follows: 'The use, but not the ownership, of the land has been nationalized, i.e. no individual owner can keep his land out of the Scheme or hold the country to ransom in the terms of the entry. The Government has assumed entire control of and responsibility for the land, paying the owners as compensation a rent equivalent to the highest market rate before the Scheme started, and giving them, in addition, original priority option to tenancies.'

The Government concession expires in 1950, and already the experiment can be pronounced a marked success. The average tenant-holding produces 3½ tons of millet per crop, straw and fattening products for the tenant's stock, and vegetables for himself and his family, in addition to cash returns. His farming is co-operative. He provides neither capital nor rent, has scientific advice, his cotton is transported and marketed for him, fertilization and sterilization of his soil is undertaken, and the charges fall on all three partners. In some respects 'he has the benefits of co-operative socialism, but as tenant, he does not pool his profits or his crops with his fellows'.

Much is being done by way of agricultural education, and Young Farmers' Clubs are established in many centres. Veterinary research work has been continuous, and the results encouraging. Disease is being eradicated and pasture improved. Gradually the Sudanese are accepting a necessary measure of control in their own interest, since so much of their natural wealth consists in their flocks and herds.

The Sudan Government has included in its most recent report a comprehensive survey of economics and trade as well as of the much-improved communications. Railways, river steamers, the facilities of Port Sudan, and the latest development of airways all testify to the progress made during the last twenty years, but in no branch of its activities has the administration earned higher praise than in its human relationships.

The standard of living has steadily risen, and, in particular, the health of the people has improved rapidly. It seemed an almost impossible task to establish medical work in the Sudan. The people were underfed, riddled with disease, and intensely suspicious. Not only have these obstacles been steadily overcome, but the responsibility for the health of the community is being increasingly entrusted to a well-trained Sudanese medical service. There are already more than four hundred hospitals and dispensaries, in addition to certain missionary establishments. A hospital ship, with a British doctor in charge, cruises the Upper White Nile and reaches people who would be otherwise cut off from medical aid. Large general hospitals, rural dispensaries, and travelling dispensaries are staffed by doctors, medical assistants, trained midwives, sanitary overseers, vaccinators, and laboratory assistants. Measures are in operation for promoting hygiene amongst schoolchildren, and for the prevention of diseases carried by mosquitoes, flies, and snails. In the Kitchener School of Medicine, founded in 1924, students have a six-year course which is recognized by the Royal College of Surgeons and the Royal College of Physicians, and ninety-four Sudanese doctors have already qualified.

Endemic diseases no longer take such terrifying toll of the population as in former years. In 1946 at the Eye Hospital in Khartoum, 88,436 out-patients and 1,199 in-patients were treated.

The infant mortality rate per thousand live births in Khartoum is 78 as compared with 199 in Egypt, 140 in Nigeria, and 45 in England and Wales. The general death rate in Omdurman is 12.5 as compared with 23.2 in Nigeria, 29.5 in Egypt, and 12.7 in England and Wales. These figures, whilst not conclusive, are at least indicative of the excellent work being done by the Public Health Department in the Sudan.

Perhaps the most impressive judgement was that given by Sir Eardley

Holland, the President of the Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists of London. Visiting the Midwives' Training School in Omdurman, he said: 'The work of this School and the influence that spreads from it was, I felt, more appealing than anything I knew of in all Medicine.'

Reading this, and surveying the present situation in the Sudan, with the aid of the admirable reports provided by the Sudan Government, one feels justly proud of the achievements of one's countrymen. At a time when the world is in the melting-pot—when it is so easy to scan a short paragraph in a newspaper and come to a hasty and ungrateful conclusion—it is good to pause a moment and remember. So many unnamed and forgotten men and women have given their lives to the backward peoples of the earth, and brought them towards the hour when they could say, 'Now we can walk alone'. It may be that such an hour will presently come to the people of the Sudan. God grant it be not too soon, nor hastened by pressure from without. Whatever may be the immediate future—whether Britain will continue her responsibility or not—we can be proud that her sons and daughters in the Sudan have fulfilled their trust.

There is still much to be done, but the foundation has been well and truly laid. If Gordon could speak to his successors he would say, 'Well done'.

JOHN BUCHAN—HAPPY WARRIOR

The publication of a symposium¹ contributed by the wife and friends of John Buchan completes four volumes which give an admirable picture of one of the most important and attractive personalities of our times. In *Memory Hold-the-Door* we have a modest but vivid autobiography. In *Unforgettable, Unforgotten* his sister, O. Douglas, gave us an intimate account of family life and the human background. *The Clearing House* presented us with an anthology which, whilst necessarily limited, was conveniently arranged for the general reader. In this latest book Susan Buchan, Lady Tweedsmuir, has written some unpretentious but charmingly human chapters about her husband at home in his family circle and at home, also, amongst the great people and the great problems of the world of his day. Here are to be found tributes from many friends, and we do not agree with those who have disapproved these inclusions because they disliked the method! Had this been the only book concerning Buchan's life we should have felt differently, but it is supplementary and we believe valuable. A similar method was adopted in the case of T. E. Lawrence, and in both instances we feel the symposium is helpful in one's attempt to form an accurate judgement about a much-discussed and many-sided personality.

Those who have too easily characterized John Buchan as a romantic opportunist must surely pause and think again in the light of this latest book.

In the Preface George M. Trevelyan writes: 'One's own little fire was feeble beside his sunlike warmth, but it was part of the world which meant so much to him, and his interest in one seemed to add to one's value.' Was not that

¹ *John Buchan, by his Wife and Friends.* (Hodder and Stoughton, 12s. 6d.)

quality of being concerned in your concerns one of his greatest gifts? Janet Adam Smith, daughter of Sir George Adam Smith, remembering him in her student days, says: 'I think there must be many besides myself who first learned in that house to be responsible about our ideas.' It is just the same quality which is selected for emphasis in an appreciation by Walter Elliot: 'That is the way John Buchan comes always to mind—as somebody one had very recently met—and the reason of that is, that he was so enormously interested in people—interested, appreciative, receptive.' This is the characteristic which is described as 'the fountain and sparkle of the story-teller'. It was never heavy nor patronizing, nor did it encroach on privacy. Above all things, it was never a profiteering friendship that John Buchan sought. He had so much more to give than to receive.

'As well seek to grasp the rainbow, though the crock of gold was evident to all, in brain as in heart, and the wealth of friends.' So wrote Lord Baldwin, in the Report of the Pilgrim Trust, of Lord Tweedsmuir, 'the loved member of our little brotherhood'.

Though he was chivalrous and the soul of courtesy, there was nothing of the poseur or 'the elegant' about him. 'John always shames me', said F. S. Oliver. 'He has dire diseases and at times much suffering; but he always looks as well fed, as spruce and smiling as a robust ploughman on a Sunday morning.'

The vitality which is in his stories was in himself. As his son said: 'Everything at home sprang into cheerful new life the moment my father entered the front door.'

It is Catherine Carswill who discovers for us the fount of his energy. 'Romance was at the source of his activity and his suavity; romance and religion: heroes and the gods. That *pietas* by which he was informed and directed, derived from both.' There is something much deeper than romantic opportunism here. No wonder that A. L. Rowse says: 'The foundation of his life, I realize now, was the principle of Christian love. He really loved people.'

Perhaps it was this fact which made him so beloved. He hated to see individuals or nations unnecessarily unhappy. The writer recalls being present with him at a social function which members of the Cabinet attended. It was a happy occasion until a somewhat disgruntled politician made an ill-timed remark about 'the supreme importance Cabinet Ministers attached to their stipends'. For a moment the atmosphere was changed, then John Buchan rose to propose a toast. Assuming an air of great solemnity, he said with a sudden twinkle: 'The real difficulty about Cabinet Ministers appears to be that they are nailed to their seats by their screws.' In a second the tension had passed and good-natured laughter had driven away the clouds. No one else could have made the little joke with the same effect; indeed, only John Buchan was quick enough and kind enough to see the possibility. *He* was in no man's pocket, but he was in all our hearts, we felt.

In a finely-etched portrait of his father, Alastair Buchan singles out as the most striking characteristic of his mind—its balance: 'He had developed to a high degree the virtue which the Greek called *Sophrosyné*: an inner harmony which "saves the individual from extravagance of thought and word, the arrogance that exaggerates his capacities, and the ambition that overleaps

itself". . . . He never forgot that "the mood of the philosopher is wonder" and never abandoned a belief in the intrinsic value of individual character, and the importance of an honest conviction.'

We shall not soon forget the moving sentence which closes his son's tribute: 'If the Greek ideal is dimmed by a world of scholiasts and specialists, it is something to have known one of the best of a great race whose mere letters, the remembered timbre of whose voice, fills the sails of the mind like a fresh wind from the shore.'

On his appointment as Governor-General of Canada it was humorously remarked that, for once, Mr. Mackenzie King and Mr. R. B. Bennett 'were in complete agreement on a matter of high policy'. Certainly the appointment was popular and, within a few months, Lord Tweedsmuir and his wife had Canada at their feet. In the United States of America the *New York Times* wrote of him: 'The robes of nobility had become the habits of democracy.'

Scholar, soldier, man of affairs, biographer, historian, story-teller and statesman—all these descriptions have been used of him, but in this latest book Lady Tweedsmuir takes us into the intimacy of his home where we discover the noblest John Buchan of all. 'No man had the sense more profound of the value or the dignity of human relationships and the claim they make on the best that man or woman can bring to the task of living. The home life at Elsfield was a sanctuary for others beside his family.' So Violet Markham suggests 'the salt and savour of existence' which was to be found round that hearth.

To those of us who admired John Buchan greatly, and who hold him safely in our hearts, this book comes as a further joy. We are grateful to Lady Tweedsmuir for sharing so many precious things with us.

In this troubled hour we seem to hear him saying, as he said at Toronto, in wartime: 'We who are nominally Christians have in recent years been growing very cold in our faith. Our great achievements in perfecting the scientific apparatus of life have tended to produce a mood of self-confidence and pride. We have too often become gross materialists in our outlook on life. I believe that the challenge with which we are faced may restore to us that manly humility in the presence of the Unseen which alone gives power. It may bring us back to God. In that case our victory is assured.'

This he would say again in man's new hour of agony.

CENTENARY OF A GREAT HYMN

This year marks the centenary of the most popular hymn in the English language. All over the world celebrations of one kind or another are being arranged. It may not be true to say that Henry Francis Lyte was one of our greatest hymn-writers, but it would be true to claim that his hymn 'Abide with me' has established itself as part of our national heritage. We doubt whether any English song, sacred or secular, has achieved such wide or permanent popularity, and this is not the result of a passing fancy.

Other hymns written by the Vicar of Lower Brixham have become deservedly famous—'Praise, my soul, the King of heaven', 'Pleasant are Thy courts above',

and 'Praise, Lord, for Thee in Zion waits' are amongst them—but though they have noble qualities they do not grip the imagination of the general public as does 'Abide with me'. It is held in affectionate regard, and it is in no sentimental mood that men say, 'I love that hymn'.

Quite wrongly it has been classified in the majority of hymn-books as an evening hymn. The English Hymnal places it where it logically belongs, amongst 'General Hymns'. The time-span is, of course, not that of a solar day, but of a human life, and the hymn may be sung as suitably in the morning as at any other time. The inevitability of the physical limit to human experience on earth may have something to do with its universal appeal. 'We are all for it, in the end, mate,' said a wayside philosopher the other day. Lyte has succeeded in uniting us all in this anticipation, but there is nothing grim or sombre or morbid about his lines. Other hymn-writers have treated the same theme and completely failed to convey any sense of buoyancy or courage in their words.

'When other helpers fail and comforts flee' suggests the experience, not of twenty-four hours, but of life as a whole. There can be no doubt as to the thought in his mind when one remembers the line, 'Swift to its close ebbs out life's little day'. The emphasis, however, is not on the remorselessness of time, but on the need of man for the Eternal Comrade. Morbidity is banished by the sense of certainty of His presence through all changing scenes and circumstance.

The writing of hymns seems to have been the natural expression of Lyte's personal experience. His health had been poor for some years, but he had thrown himself vigorously into the work at All Saints', Brixham. Not unlike Charles Kingsley in his gift of making quick contacts with all kinds of people, he endeared himself at once to the fishermen. They welcomed him aboard their trawlers, and appreciated his interest in their personal affairs. Every skipper in the Brixham fleet possessed a Bible given to him by the 'passon'. Many times they asked him to preach 'special sermons' and crowded to hear him. It was a tribute to his personality that so gentle a spirit in so frail a body should rouse such real affection in these rugged seamen. He won their hearts because he tried to enter into their lives, and share with them his own rich experience. His warm-hearted humanity, his modesty and utter sincerity were irresistible. These qualities found their complete and final expression in the lines of the hymn which he began to write at Avignon and finished at Brixham on 4th September 1847. Three generations have made the hymn their own and its popularity shows no sign of waning.

In the sports arena at Wembley great crowds have sung it at cup ties. It has found its way into cottages and palaces, and has been heard in the remotest village Bethels as well as in the stateliest cathedrals. In camps and hospitals, aboard ships and in doss-houses, the present writer has joined with a strange variety of choristers in singing this intensely moving prayer.

As Edith Cavell went to face the firing-squad at Brussels she repeated some of the verses, and Queen Alexandra found it her great solace. Clara Butt had no other item in her repertoire which brought such instant response from her vast audiences. When Will Crooks reached the end of his amazing pilgrimage, he whispered, 'I triumph still if Thou abide with me'.

Cold analysis might find fault, but when a hymn has put the deepest thought and desire of the common man into such words as have brought him into contact with his God, the mere analyst had better stand aside. He may so easily have missed the thing that matters most.

The constant love in a world of change! The unfailing compassion! The invincible grace! These were the qualities of God which gave Francis Lyte his victory over the last enemy. He has bequeathed something of his faith to millions he had never seen. This hymn remains a perpetual benediction.

* * * * *

MINISTERS IN COUNCIL

Owing to the Presidential duties of the Rev. W. E. Farndale his customary contribution, 'Ministers in Council', will not appear in this or the next issue.

LESLIE F. CHURCH

Articles

THE PURPLE EMPEROR

A Tract for the Times

NOTHING in the whole range of nature is more significant than the emergence of the butterfly from the chrysalis. On some warm May morning the imprisoned undeveloped creature thrills to the call and challenge of the sun. Its response is to perforate the lid and split the walls of its winter shelter, and to thrust out its head. Purposefulness marks every stage of this amazing process of disengagement. Body and limbs are gradually freed from their several sheaths until the curved wet form of the insect, fully released, rests for a space upon its discarded pupal trappings. The process of transformation lasts for some time. At first the wings are flaccid and colourless, and together with all the organs of sense such as the antennae, require the infusion into them of certain fluids which, upon its first emergence, are largely contained in the cavities of the thorax and abdomen. Hanging on a twig or clinging to the side of a rock, the insect remains in the sunlight fanning its wings. By this means the vital fluids are injected into the wings which expand to their normal size, rigidity, and brilliance. At last the moment arrives when, on airy pinions, the creature that has lived a worm-like life for weeks and months, and has been apparently sleeping the sleep of death in its cerements, makes its first essay of flight, and soars aloft, the companion of the sunlight and the breezes. Two things should be noted: first, that even in its chrysalis state, there is a prophecy and suggestion of the perfected butterfly; and, still more important, that the very fluids which, pumped out and circulated by the insect's own efforts, give strength and beauty to the wings, if allowed to remain dormant within the body, actually prove fatal. The old Methodist preachers would have rejoiced in such an illustration of the law that unless God-given powers are properly utilized, they lead, instead, to inward disorder and death. Naturalists have tried, from time to time, the experiment of cutting the lid and slitting the sheaths so as to facilitate the butterfly's deliverance—to lend it a helping hand, so to speak. In vain. Nature repudiates such blundering benevolence. When thus artificially liberated, the insect lacks vigour and interest in life. Its wings remain undeveloped and colourless. Soon it flops over and dies. 'Cutting the lid' to make exit easy looks like kindness, but it is what Bossuet called 'a murderous pity', and Nature will have none of it.

The Purple Emperor preaches a timely sermon. This principle of strenuous self-reliance has an obvious relevance to human life, and may prove a wholesome corrective to some plausible philanthropic impulses which threaten to dominate our day.

No matter in what sphere—to 'cut the lid' is not kindness, but cruelty. Nature takes a stern revenge upon those who evade her grand law of work. Ray Lankester puts it thus—'Any set of conditions occurring to an animal which render its food and safety very easily attained, seems to lead as a rule to degeneration.'

One has heard visitors to the Lakes, sitting indoors because it was wet, exclaim 'Poor little things!' when a group of hardy youngsters has passed the hotel on their way to school. The children are forging ahead in the rain, their clogs or nailed boots ringing on the road. Three miles they walk over the fells, morning and evening, in all weathers. How absurd that they should be objects of commiseration to people who shrink from going out in a shower! One day these lads and girls will be farmers and shepherds, rounding up sheep on Bowfell in winter. Their strenuous childhood is the proper training for the rigours to come. Apart from the inroads made upon parental responsibility, can it be good for children to be transported, to and fro in buses, to the very gates of their school? It is no rare thing to see them waiting for their bus or tram a longer time than it would have taken to walk to school. Not infrequently men say: 'I want my children to have a better start than I had', ignoring the fact that it was just that sharp spur of necessity that made them the men they were. It is the discipline of effort which gives life its finest thrills and richest rewards. It is perilous to 'cut the lid'. Nature abhors a policy of protection and pampering in any sphere. It was not callousness that made King Edward at Cr  cy reply to the messenger who brought tidings that the Black Prince was sorely pressed: 'Let the boy win his spurs.'

Whatever criticisms may be levelled at our Public Schools, they have the merit of removing boys for three-quarters of the year from the home atmosphere of protection and partiality, and placing them in a community where there is the maximum of rivalry and the minimum of petting. Such a life is an invaluable training in self-reliance and social adjustment. Since the modern struggle calls for the extreme stimulation of enterprise, we may be thankful that the sentimentalism which has invaded the elementary schools has not been allowed to undermine the bracing Public School r  gime. It was remarked of one who disappointed his early promise that he was one of those unfortunate persons who possess influential relatives, than which there are few heavier handicaps in that game of life where it is decreed that any real scoring must be done off one's own bat. Lord Buchan used to maintain that his brother, Lord Chancellor Erskine, owed his success in life to him; and being asked in what way he had contributed to it, replied: 'By steadily refusing to increase his allowance when strongly urged to do so.' The father who tries to smooth the path to his children's success may well see them outdistanced in initiative and tenacity by those who had a rougher road. Parasitism may seem to be a clever dodge, but Nature regards it as the unforgivable sin. We live in a world where we are punished *by* our sins even more than *for* them. An impartial observer cannot be blind to a change in the atmosphere of our country. Disconcerting reports are beginning to come in, even from Public School and University Employment Boards, that there is a marked decline of the old British spirit of enterprise and adventure. We are told that the tendency is to favour the French ideal of government employment with moderate income, security, and pension—in short, the Civil Service outlook. One wonders who is going to support this swelling horde of functionaries—a formidable new 'vested interest'—whose role is not productive but merely administrative. We are reminded of the old German Bands, with half a dozen players and an equal number soliciting alms.

Not so long ago D.O.R.A., with her restrictions and controls, was an object of loathing and contempt. Englishmen looked forward impatiently to the time when her tentacles would be lopped off. Today her every new encroachment upon our liberty is greeted with ringing cheers. It is an astounding *volte-face*. 'Safety first' has become a respectable motto in the country of Drake and Nelson. The reigning idol is 'Security'. Increasingly men are depending on the State to 'cut the lid' for them, to give them a flying start, furnish pick-me-ups when they are feeling the strain, and provide a cushion should they fall. It would be salutary to remember Josiah Royce's warning:

Security! why it's just the one thing a human being can't have, the thing that's the damnation of him if he gets it. The reason it is so hard for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven, is that he has that false sense of security. To demand it just disintegrates a man. Courage is security. There is no other kind.

In the long run, in things earthly as well as heavenly, there is no substitute for working out one's own salvation.

Our railway stations have recently been adorned by an alluring poster which depicts a youthful pair on a mountain summit, gazing rapturously over the wide prospect. There is no hint of fatigue; no disorder of dress or hair mars the sprightly symmetry of the scene. Below was printed the legend: 'To the top without toil. Mountaineering made easy. Quick ascents to the summit by railway.' It used to be the hazard that made the charm of mountaineering. Today novices can ascend the Matterhorn and stand where such Alpine heroes as Whymper and Mummery stood. One goes up to Zermatt by rail, and ropes and chains have been fixed at the difficult or dangerous places on the climb. 'To the top without toil.' No one pretends that thus mountaineers are made. One thinks of Whymper's epic siege of the unscaled peak, his exploration of possible routes, his lonely climbs that ended in failure, and finally the tragic triumph of the first ascent. After a seven-year duel the untamable Matterhorn was conquered—though exacting a price. Such a story makes trains, ropes, and ladders seem poor stuff.

School-boys sometimes temper the rigours of compulsory chapel by amending the hymns. Here is one of their masterpieces:

*They climbed the steep ascent of heaven
Through peril, toil, and pain;
O God, to us may grace be given
To follow in the train.*

To the top without toil!

In his satire, *The Celestial Railroad*, Nathaniel Hawthorne treats us to just such an improved version of *Pilgrim's Progress*. From the City of Destruction a railroad now runs to the Celestial City. 'Going on pilgrimage' has become a popular form of travel. One books a corner-seat, and finds oneself with 'Mr. Smooth-it-Away' and other pleasant company. A bridge of elegant construction spans the Slough of Despond—that treacherous quagmire where Christian was all but lost. One sees today no ragged man with a great burden on his back, plodding along with the whole town hooting after him. Instead,

parties of gentry and other respectable persons set forth as though upon a summer tour, their personal baggage snugly deposited in the luggage-van. The old feud between Beelzebub and the Keeper of the Wicket-Gate has been amicably composed on the principle of mutual compromise. Two dusty fellows trudging by the rail-side and carrying the old burden and pilgrim's staff, aroused roars of laughter from the passengers, who wondered that men should be so far behind the times. The formidable bulk of the Hill Difficulty has been transported and now fills up the ravine once called the Valley of Humiliation—nothing less than an engineering triumph. Few pilgrims troubled to go beyond Vanity Fair. This was an agreeable place and the relations between the city and the railway directors were the happiest. Indeed, the capitalists of the city were among the largest shareholders in the railway. Poor Christian, in Bunyan's antiquated version, had a bitter passage through the river. Nowadays things are better managed. A trim paddle-boat lies moored at the riverside, puffing away and waiting to ferry the travellers across. Hawthorne's conclusion is tremendous:

The paddle-wheels as they began their revolutions threw a dash of spray over me, so deadly cold with the chill that will never leave these waters until Death be drowned in his own river, that with a shiver and a heartache I awoke. Thank Heaven, it was a dream.

'As a dream, when one awaketh, so, O Lord, Thou shalt despise their image.' It is a remorseless picture of a vain attempt to 'cut the lid', to evade the travail by which the soul is won.

The primitive law, 'In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread', was interpreted by the Hebrews as a curse. It would be more in keeping with what we know of God's government of the world and of man's experience, to construe it as a promise. When 'blue-domers' excuse their non-attendance at church by the plea that they prefer to commune with 'Nature', they are using the term inaccurately. To contemplate 'Nature' in a country so largely man-made as England is not easy. One can behold 'Nature' in her purity amid the wreckage of Scafell or the waste of Dartmoor, in swamp and fen; in the Brazilian jungle or on that barren American plateau, untrodden by man until the era of the aeroplane. But if one visits, let us say, the Cotswolds, one realizes that every farm, road, field, dyke, crop, flower, fruit-tree; every animal, nay, every blade of grass, is the result of man's labour, selection, contrivance over many centuries. Contrast Julius Caesar's England covered with tangled forests and impassable swamps with Housman's 'coloured counties' of the twentieth century! The very climate has been modified by man's handiwork. It is true piety to believe that it is the will of Heaven that man should vegetate in no gratuitous Eden, but that 'in the sweat of his brow' he should tame the wilderness and turn the solitary place into a garden. According to the Bible, the development of agriculture, metallurgy, and the arts significantly followed the Expulsion from Eden.

In this sphere Providence has not risked man's demoralization by any 'cutting of the lid'. From the days of the first civilization based upon the irrigation of the Nile and Euphrates, until the redemption of Baltic *landes* and American prairie, man has had a sore wrestle. Nor is the Divine Law rescinded.

Even in the enchanted Cotswolds, if man folds his arms, 'Nature' is soon in revolt.

There is general agreement that Professor Toynbee has given us a deeply impressive interpretation of human history. In this monumental analysis¹ he examines the causes of the rise and fall of no less than twenty-one distinct civilizations. His major conclusion is that *civilization is the response to a challenge*. The most ancient of all, Egypt, owed its birth to the stimulus of an unfavourable environment, viz. the jungle swamp that evoked the creative effort which transformed it into an ordered network of dykes and fields. The grim facts of Nature acted as a stimulus. Challenge is a fine word but a trying experience; yet it appears to be the indispensable condition of awakening and advance. Death may come painlessly, but birth never does. Our historian sums up: 'We have now established decisively that ease is hostile to civilization, and that the greater the challenge the greater the stimulus.' Of course there is a limit to this principle. There may come a point at which the law of diminishing returns sets in. A challenge which is too severe is as deadly as Nirvana contentment. Modern France supplies an instance: the German challenge became intolerably severe. France was discouraged, even intimidated, and relapsed into pacifism and class-strife. She was tried too high. *She lost Hope*; and the loss of Hope spells Death. Toynbee calculates that in sixteen out of the twenty-one historic civilizations, breakdown and extinction resulted not from external assault but internal debility. States are not destroyed by alien human forces until they are already ripe for dissolution. In fact, the normal effect upon the life of the assaulted party would appear, on an empirical survey of the evidence, to be not destructive but positively stimulating. Thus, Hellenic civilization was stimulated by Xerxes' attack in 480 B.C. to the highest manifestation of its literary and artistic, as well as military, capacity. May we not recall how the Spanish threat inspired the glorious vitality of our own Elizabethan Age?

Disintegration comes eventually through a society resting on its oars, and from being spoiled by success. Complacency leads to loss of mental and moral balance and so to the final doom. As Dean Inge has wittily observed: 'Nothing fails like success.' Ruling classes tend to rule themselves out. If we consider the master motif of history—the challenge of the ruthless insatiable Nomad to the peaceful Husbandman—we may discern a soul of good in things evil. Intense suffering was the price paid for alertness and virility.

Mommsen held that the barbarian invasions rejuvenated the Roman Empire. Even the Italian Republics, with their furious and unending strife, fructified each other's life more than they mutilated it. 'Soft countries breed soft men', said old Herodotus.

The world can never forget the object-lesson of Rome's rise and fall. O! the labour of raising that clan of Italian farmers to be the greatest state of the ancient world! It is impossible to exaggerate Roman courage, simplicity, public spirit, and constancy in misfortune. Even when Hannibal at Cannae had destroyed the finest army Rome had ever put into the field, and the terrible Carthaginian was at the gates of the capital, the price of property in the Roman auctions went up. The unpardonable sin was to despair of the state. Such virtue brought them to the top as it was bound to do. And then—? The

¹ *A Study of History*.

Book of Deuteronomy supplies the answer. The reasons for the decline of Rome were many and complicated, but the root cause was, beyond doubt, the deterioration of her manhood. Love of wealth, self-indulgence, pride, sloth, undermined the old virility. In the end Romans fell so low as to be content to pay others to do their fighting for them. The aristocracy lost their nerve, abdicated, and dwindled into urban exquisites. They limited their families, until by the time of Hadrian (A.D. 130) only *one* of all the great Roman houses remained. The masses became a parasitic rabble living on 'doles and dog-races'. So solid a structure as Rome took time to dissolve, but in the end it collapsed and brought half the world down with it. The tragedy was not brought about by bad luck or external foe. The prophecy of Lucretius was fulfilled: 'The wrath of the gods fell upon Rome.' Over against this crowning illustration of decadence we may place the supreme example of persistence. Who will question that the history of the Jews, from the days of the Pharaohs to those of the Nazis, is the most instructive record in the world? Practically always the Jews have been a penalized minority. More than any other people they have suffered persecution—material, social, racial, religious. They have responded to challenges such as would have undermined the integrity of any other race. Divided and despised, with no country to call their own, they have preserved their patriotism and unity. Crushed successively by Egypt, Philistia, Assyria, Babylon, Persia, Greece, Syria, Rome, they have survived to attend the funeral of all their tormentors. Their resilience proved a match even for the hysterical hatred of Hitler. Their story proves up to the hilt Toynbee's thesis that energy is stimulated by challenge—*so long as there is Hope*. Never, even at the worst, have the Jews given up Hope. Better than the courage of despair, their courage has been inspired by an unconquerable Hope. Their assets have been their moral code and family virtue, and these were rooted in their *religion*, which inspired them with an imperishable sense of vocation. Unbelievers may mock at their Messianic Expectation as an illusion, but it has undoubtedly fed the Hope which has saved them. 'The gates of Hell shall not prevail against it' was spoken of the New Israel; it has been also the faith of the Old. The challenge of today falls with particular severity upon our own country, tempted as we are to cherish the gilt-edged memories of the nineteenth century. Our present trials seem the harder to bear against that background of success, security, and supremacy. From the Repeal of the Corn Laws to the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria, Great Britain enjoyed a period of unparalleled opportunity and achievement. Industrially we had the start and gained a decisive momentum before our rivals were awakened. The hungry markets of the world clamoured for our products. We imported raw materials from every continent, paying for them comfortably in manufactured goods carried in our own ships. Later, America, Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Colonies began to work up their local products on the spot, but we still supplied them with machinery and experts to do it with. In the end these foreign and colonial lands over-produced raw materials and also tried to provide themselves with the manufactured goods. Cotton, steel, machinery were produced abroad at a cost less than our own. It came to this, that the world, if it chose, could do without us. We are today actually importing steel and coal, and the old proverb about bringing coals to Newcastle has lost

its point. Nevertheless, for fifty years it looked as though there could be no limit to British economic expansion. We saved handsomely and still had enough to finance the steadily-rising standard of living. Any man dowered with industry and moral force could make good. Such a favoured situation was bound to influence men's philosophy of life. The Victorian Age seemed to its efficient members to be something like ideal—normative. Society had flowered into its final form. It was inconceivable that any future age could improve upon Mr. Gladstone.

Two unparalleled wars, on the top of revolutionary aims, have transformed Victorian Britain into the harassed impoverished country of today. It is no wonder that many 'take it hard'. Just when entering port the ship was shattered by an explosion. Handicapped by gigantic war debts, and by standards of living which economic laws do not justify, but which political exigencies demand, we are confronting difficulties of which our fathers and grandfathers never dreamed. Our old gilt-edged world lies in ruins. It is not surprising that we should be tempted to wander among the ruins—once our home—and indulge nostalgic dreams.

The temptation must be sternly resisted. To hanker after a vanished past is to cripple ourselves in the present. The Defeatism that could find no place in the dark days of 1940 must be exorcised from English hearts. We must invoke the elemental fortitude that transformed that crisis into 'our finest hour'.

A glance over our national history might help us to recover our sense of proportion. Let us ask at what period we would have chosen to live. Not many long to become Ancient Britons, nor was subjugation by Roman legions for four centuries particularly agreeable. But even this was better than the succeeding woes of the Saxon Heptarchy and the Danish invasions. The long subservience to Norman conquerors must have been mortifying; it was galling to have this country treated as an annexe to France. The Hundred Years' War, followed by the Black Death, brought no relief from tension. After the interminable wars abroad the country was torn by the Wars of the Roses. ('The world is right wild', as a friend of the Pastons truly wrote.) Tudor despotism was anything but comfortable: the headsman was the busiest man in the realm. The protracted duel with Spain was followed by the anguish of the great Civil War and its century-long aftermath. A life and death struggle with Louis the Fourteenth swiftly followed. (Such trifles as Jacobite invasions and chronic Colonial wars hardly claim a mention.) The loss of our American Colonies was but a mild forerunner of the sufferings inflicted upon us in the twenty years' struggle with Napoleon. This rapid survey of our 'rough Island story' should convince us that Victorian peace and plenty was abnormal and misleading. We may well use our memories to reinforce our hope. But it must be an intelligent hope and not Micawberish optimism.

If the severity of the present challenge leads us to make an idol of 'Security' we may miss the goal, for it has been often true that to aim at safety may not be the surest way of attaining it. 'Private enterprise' or 'Individualism', like all other 'isms', is not fool-proof or knave-proof, but if history teaches anything it is that every attempt to evade personal responsibility is doomed to failure. At the moment it is fashionable to look for salvation to the State, but no jugglery can obliterate the fact that the State is nothing more than the sum

of its efficient citizens. A race of Englishmen who look to the State 'to cut the lid' for them is a new and disturbing phenomenon. Even now, though we may want an easy life we do not honour it. Our national heroes are all adventurers and wrestlers. The principle of competition is built into the very structure of the world. Pretend as we may, its bracing challenge is necessary to raise us out of our native indolence and complacency. Without it life loses its zest and savour. The remedy for the ills of competition is to be found in the moderation and magnanimity of the strong and successful, and not in any sickly sentimentalizing over the lot of the under-dog. Certainly our Lord wasted little sympathy upon the lazy disgruntled one-talent man. At bottom, the prevailing cult of Security is defeatist; it springs from what Gilbert Murray calls 'a failure of nerve'. Further, we are bound to look with misgiving on any scheme of Planning that takes the burden of responsible decision off the shoulders of citizens. These magic watchwords 'Security', 'Planning', 'The State', are of limited efficacy. *Salvation by Slogans* seems to be the myth of our time. Nor are we reassured when we hear rapturous comments on the mass of Legislation that is being 'put through' in Parliament. Law can regulate, but not create. There could be no surer sign of intellectual and moral decadence than this pathetic faith that a spate of 'New Legislation' will rescue us from our plight.

Moral progress is marked by a diminution rather than a multiplication of laws. The finer a man's character the less he needs the law's constraint. Even when necessary, the coercion of the legal bit and bridle is a second best. The chief foundation and ornament of nobility, whether in individuals or societies, is that their actions spring from an instinctive sense of obligation. The judgements of this inward and private tribunal are finer and more binding than the coarser prohibitions and retributions of law. If then the extension of the area of the *unenforceable* is the touchstone of progress, the current flood of legislation may prove a curse rather than a blessing.

The fact is that such catchwords as 'Security', 'Planning', 'The State', 'Legislation', are (to use modern slang) dope—quack remedies suggested by a superficial diagnosis.

The core of the mischief is not economic or legal or political, but *moral* and *spiritual*. This issue is plain to see and cannot be dodged. Christians know that good States can only be made of good men. The key to the solution of our problems is neither in Moscow nor Madrid, but in Zion.

Nothing sounds more comforting than 'Economic Security'; it helps us to forget that security lies only in economic vitality and expansion—in a word, in strength. It can never be given; it must be won.

The thesis of this article cannot be twisted into any sort of class favouritism. Guaranteed security spells danger in any class. It is salutary for men of all classes, even 'the working class', to be put on their mettle. Be it also remembered, that few strenuous aristocracies have fallen.

Formerly men were expected to *make* their opportunities; nowadays they feel very virtuous if they condescend to *take* them. To have your cake and eat it is impossible, this side Heaven. If you shirk *risks*, you give up *chances*. No ingenuity of legislation can create a world of riskless opportunity. Men have required the onset of insecurity to rouse those gifts which are greater

than security. Nor will salvation come through 'soaking the rich', attractive though that operation may be. The possibilities of 'soaking', however thrilling, are limited. Spoliation may glut vengeance but is hardly likely to inspire national revival. Often, indeed, the process of 'soaking' is more harmful to the soakers than to the soaked.

A more excellent way is suggested by very recent history. English grit and good humour rose magnificently to answer the challenge of Germany. Selfishness and querulousness were then ashamed to show themselves. And still 'there is a war on'. The challenge of peace may be as searching, if not as exciting as that of war. In peace, too, courage is the breath of life and its noblest virtue. For six years English men and women of every class, in navy, army, air force, on merchant-ships and in factories, cast personal security to the winds and found a new delight and freedom in doing so. They rose to the emergency and were the better for it.

Our illustrations of the law of 'challenge and response' may fitly end in the crucial sphere of religion. It is prophesied that the cinema will be the church of the future. Even now queues are as common outside picture houses as rare outside churches. The question of Sunday cinemas has practically resolved itself into a duel with the churches. So far Hollywood has won all along the line. It is an ugly portent. Yet it is but one sign out of many that religion is, as we say, 'up against it'. One even meets 'defeatism' among Christian ministers. The champions of religion are tempted to grow bitter over the modern apostasy and to sigh for the old prestige and prosperity. Here again memory ought to reinforce hope. Christianity has usually been fighting for its life. And here, too, difficulty has given the atmosphere in which vital religion breathes most freely, the soil in which it strikes the deepest roots. It began as the faith of an insignificant sect in a despised corner of the Roman Empire. For nearly three hundred years the Christian Church had to meet scorn and hatred, and often severe, even savage, persecution. Yet it managed not only to survive but thrive. By the fourth century it could negotiate on equal terms with the Imperial authorities. In the end Constantine 'cut the lid'. 'Establishment' opened the way to the debasement of mass-produced Christians. The Church discovered that State flattery and manipulation could be deadlier than persecution. She was safer when she was not so secure. Later on Christendom survived the Mohammedan Terror as it had survived the Roman. The fierce conflicts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are at least a proof of religious vitality. Bunyan pronounced both Giant Pope and Giant Pagan to be moribund. He was as mistaken in the one case as in the other. With the eighteenth-century English, Christianity sailed into calmer seas. Too calm! Even so balanced an observer as Butler feared the worst. 'I am too old', he pleaded, 'to undertake the defence of a tottering Church.' Wesley thought differently and proved a better judge. The last two centuries have seen the Church of Christ threatened by new and formidable foes. The onslaughts of Scientists and Secularists caused even stout hearts to tremble for the Ark of the Lord. The anti-Christian movement reached its climax in Communism—a system of civilization which aims at destroying Christian foundations altogether: doctrines, morality, institutions are all swept aside.

This acute secularist phase was marked by growing international anarchy

and by two world wars the like of which men had not witnessed before. Civilization, having been turned into a substitute for the religion on which it rested, is collapsing for want of a foundation.

Two things may safely be said—'Religion is indispensable' and 'The Church of God will survive'.

Our bitter experience has only made more apparent man's need of spiritual conviction. Secular pride, scientific mastery, have left the world in ruins and the souls of men starved and tired. The foes of the Faith are seen to be the fathers of all worldly confusion. They cannot scale Heaven but, most certainly, they have laid waste the earth. The sublime words over the portal of Westminster Cathedral take on a new cogency in the Atomic Age—'I am the Door; by Me, if any man enter in, he shall be saved'. By her response to this challenge, the Church may recover an urgent sense of mission, and in saving the world find her own soul. As to the survival of the Church, a glance over the past should help to reassure us. In his greatest book, *The Everlasting Man*, G. K. Chesterton describes 'the five deaths of the Faith'—the struggle with Arianism, Manichaeism, Sceptical Humanism, The Encyclopaedist Enlightenment, and Science. Five times, to all appearances, the Faith was going to the dogs. But it was always the dog that died. The Christian chariot goes thundering along through the ages, swerving to avoid deadly heresies and perilous fads and fashions. From time to time it has looked as if the Chariot would be overturned, but still it rolls on, the heresies sprawling and prostrate, the Truth still erect.

'The Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it.' Our faith is that Old England will emerge; and, even more surely, that the Church of Christ will endure.

The reaction to the summons of today must not be resentment, self-pity, or stoic resignation, but rather the high-hearted welcome with which Mallory and Irvine answered the challenge of Everest. To finish on our text—it is through its efforts to climb out of that imprisoning case that the Purple Emperor emerges with strength in its body and beauty in its wings.

F. BROMPTON HARVEY

EDUCATIONAL TRENDS IN ENGLAND

A Lecture delivered in the Sorbonne on 2nd May for the British Institute in Paris

GREAT WARS are apt to stir up revolutions. This is a truism, but more interesting than most, for the modalities are diverse. The period of revolution may be short or long: the scope narrow or wide: the movement may run steadily under control, or it may mount to a crisis, or from crisis to crisis. Each revolution strikes its own balance between creativeness and destruction: those that seem to destroy little still owe something to the destructive urges. In one sense they owe everything, namely their existence. Without the replanners there would be much less planning.

On the other side of the channel a revolution is proceeding, and not least in education. You may have heard of it, and still be sceptical. It is almost exactly 300 years ago since England had a revolution which the Continent, with drastic examples in mind, would be disposed to think worth the name. Some critics dismiss the English as incapable of revolution, but only to thank God in the next breath that it is so. That some Englishmen dub the educational projects of the moment a revolution can only make you, I fear, more sceptical. Ten years ago an English King lost his throne. Lecturing shortly after in Berlin, I found high Nazi personages anxious and alarmed by this example of revolution. The word that leapt to those Berlin tongues was not applied in England. Frenchmen may reflect, as I hope they do, that in England real revolution does not talk.

I shall say nothing about the revolution in general. Some of the prevailing trends in the educational field are illustrated in the Education Act of 1944, passed by Mr. Churchill's Coalition Government and now faithfully applied by his successors. The forces behind the Act were political, professional, and official rather than popular: but the conversion of the masses goes on rapidly. The method of the Act is to increase greatly the responsibilities of the Local Authorities by expanding old duties and adding new. The costs are shared more or less equally by the Ministry of Education and the local authorities. The eventual cost of the entire scheme will be very formidable indeed. The aspiration to make good the immense arrears and to assure immense advances within a brief post-war period, to do everything at once, and all of it according to good standards, is certainly heroic, or revolutionary, though a controlled revolution. It takes time to train teachers, and to erect buildings, and to finance both. The teachers are likely to be ready first.

The State, on which the Act bestows wide prerogatives of direction and influence, has only of late taken the lead in Education. Grants to elementary schools began rather more than a century ago on a tiny scale: in those days, and for long before, the Church of England had a virtual monopoly in this field. The Act of 1870 set up local bodies for elementary education, while concurrently the Church kept its hold, and more, on its schools, as did and still does the Roman Church. The 'dual system' survives under the guarantee of compromises revised and renewed from time to time—compromises which prove the spirit of independence and sacrifice in the Churches and also the

considerateness of the public authorities. The State provision in 1870 for elementary education led naturally a generation later to State provision for secondary education. The Act of 1902 founded and refounded many schools, both boys' schools and girls' schools, all of them of the grammar-school type, which feeds the universities and educated callings. For the female sex the Act was an Act of Emancipation. Of all the innovations in the prodigious development of English education during the last century none, in its ratio, has done the nation more good.

I mentioned a few moments ago certain 'immense arrears' requiring to be made good. The 1944 Act had a precursor, the Fisher Act of 1918, a powerful instrument if the economy campaign of the early nineteen-twenties had not cancelled much of it. There was another precursor, the Hadow Report of 1926, which recommended a comprehensive 'Reorganization'—viz.: that from about the age of eleven the mass of children, those being excepted who were destined for grammar schools, should be removed from the primary schools to new centres for suitable courses up to the leaving age of fourteen. By 1939 'Reorganization' had been effected only in the rough proportion of one third. By 1944 the educationists' conscience dictated bold measures for the mass of adolescents. The Act, or rather orders of the Ministry consequential on it, raised the leaving age to fifteen in the immediate future, and presently to sixteen, and provided for two new types of secondary schools, modern and technical, on a parity with the grammar schools. Conscience did not rest there. Boys and girls leaving school for work at sixteen are required for the next two years to attend county colleges one day a week for suitable courses. Nor is that the end. The Act empowers local authorities to set up or to aid schemes of cultural education for adults, and these schemes would recruit members from the county colleges.

The 1944 Act, in sum, seeks to do the adolescents tardy justice, a justice compounded of policy and penitence. Only experience can show what the ratio of the components is, and whether the ratio is itself just. Where penitence is admissible, it may as well be thorough: though penances self-imposed may still be excessive. Henceforward access to universities is assured by aid from public funds for the poorest, if judged capable of profiting by it. Family budgets embarrassed by the late entry of the young upon wage-earning will receive help. What the family budgets gain the national budget loses by withdrawal of labour at a time when economic needs call for more production. The clash between the two budgets, moreover, must be especially burdensome as long as the armed forces remain very large. But the clash is unlikely to be resolved against education. That would be defeatism. The nation's mood is to leave the factors of production to make the adjustments, as best they can.

I mentioned a few moments ago the 'dual system' in primary education. You may think it an anomaly that public bodies and Churches should thus share the field. The same opinion is held by numbers in England, and perhaps increasingly. Concentration of power and control, 'co-ordination', to give it its world-name, is the characteristic of the age, but perhaps its besetting temptation as well. English individualism still prizes variety, as in the 'dual system', both for itself and as a pledge of liberty. And variety exists in other forms. The 'direct grant' grammar schools, most of them old and of more

than local prestige, are governed by special bodies, and receive grants not from the local authorities but direct from the Ministry of Education. It is a sign of the times that the list of 'direct grant' schools has been shortened recently. Most of the excluded schools have fallen under the close control of the local authorities. But some 'direct grant' schools, at the cost of raising their fees, have joined still another category, the 'independent' schools, which while working under Ministry of Education schemes or trust deeds, and submitting themselves to inspection by the Ministry, receive no grants of public money, and are notable examples of free private enterprise. Of such schools are Eton, Rugby, Westminster, Sherborne, and many others less well known. This is the group that has made most impression abroad, by distinctiveness and also, I hope, by all-round effectiveness.

The 'independent' schools have been heavily assailed in recent years. The 'destructive urges' of our revolution fell to them to absorb. What are these schools? Old and famous, some of them, by the distinction of their alumni in national life, indeed a part of English history, religious foundations at the start, and still largely influenced by the Church: and even the newest—and many are new—share in the benefits of the tradition. They are in general citadels of the classics and of humane studies, and foster all-round culture of mind and body. They are residential, and expensive, except for scholars chosen by examination. Paying good salaries, they command the scholastic market. It would be astonishing if these advantages, along with the favourable background of the boys' homes, failed to win a proportionate success—astonishing, and scandalous.

They make a provocative picture, the Public Schools. And the assault has done for them what their principles forbid them to do: it has advertised them. All are full to overflowing, with waiting-lists for years to come. Some revolutionary critics are in two minds about them, whether to seize them and turn them into new Universities, or to reserve them for homeless or abnormal children. Others complain that access to the best education should go by a boy's fitness and not by his parent's income, and call for a great expansion of public-school education. Others again, despairing of a rapid and sufficient expansion, must prevent any from having what all cannot have.

What in sum can be said for the public schools? That they have the masters, the means, the humanity, and the all-round conditions to give suitable and willing boys an exceedingly good education, and probably the best available. Suitable boys, I said: home-life, on the other hand, and a day-school suit many boys better. What is the sum of the matter *against* them? That their numerical capacity is trivial in relation to the needs of a great nation, and that the success of their alumni in life is apt to be unduly uniform, and dangerously conspicuous. They have the merits of pioneers, and the odium: they point the way, but from far ahead. Here is a passage from a discerning and not unsympathetic article by Professor Victor Murray in the *Spectator* of 18th April:

Given an enlightened and progressive headmaster and given an enlightened and progressive Local Authority, the Local Authority schools have the future with them. They have learned from the public schools all that they could teach them, and they can universalize it in the interests of all classes and not just of one. Meanwhile, as

all headmasters are not yet enlightened and as many Local Authorities come very far short of the ideal, the witness of the public schools is still inevitable and necessary, and the Minister of Education would do a great dis-service to education at the present time by discouraging independent and direct-grant schools. But when the Local Education Authorities and the heads *do* together rise to the height of this great argument we shall get a national system worthy of the name.

For the present the assault has subsided. Some of the public schools are willing to admit boys from public elementary schools, provided the charges are met: some Local Authorities are prepared to defray the charges: and the Ministry of Education on the whole encourages the parties. Is this peace or only armistice? No one can say.

Let me turn to the Universities. Two are ancient, Oxford and Cambridge, and well known. Of the other ten Durham, a Church foundation, and London, which originated in an examining agency of the State, date from about 120 years ago. Reading, the newest, dates from twenty years ago. Some, the University Colleges, are universities in embryo: you may hear before long of Nottingham U.C. being made a University, and others hope to win the same advancement, e.g. my own College, Exeter U.C. The life-cycle of the provincial universities is simple and fairly uniform. Their roots were local organizations for the teaching of technical, medical, professional, or cultural subjects. These organizations coalesced in local Colleges, which prepared students for the external degrees of London University. The Colleges, as they grew, won the support of the great cities in which they were situated, and after a longer or shorter apprenticeship under London they were granted the status of Universities by the Privy Council.

As the progeny of one *Alma Mater*, the civic universities bear a family resemblance. The new type contrasts disturbingly with the old: the prestige of the old, far from being impaired, appears rather to be enhanced. The masses have discovered Oxford and Cambridge: not only that, they have discovered the way in. For their sons in large and rising numbers the scholarship system is the golden key. This gradual invasion of an upper-class preserve by new elements is little older than the present century. Its beneficent effect cannot be doubted. The grammar schools have been heartened: a wider entry into careers is offered to more aspirants of ability: the social atmosphere is sweeter by the relief of class grievances and grudges: the two universities themselves are gainers—more diverse, more representative, and less inbred. It is not only Oxford and Cambridge that have been discovered. The war has convinced the nation of the value of universities, of their virtual monopoly as sources of trained minds. The researcher has become a national hero. Science and technicianship, on which the war made the heaviest calls, benefit most, as is natural, by the new enthusiasm. But the expansion of the universities, the doubling of their population within a few years, which is accepted policy in official circles and the public mind, has the Arts group of studies in view as much as science and technology. After a generation of hesitancy, of modest subsidizing and refusal of effectual responsibility, the State has taken the universities under its wing. The University Grants Committee, a Treasury committee with which the Chancellor of the Exchequer deals direct, now distributes large sums for yearly expenditure and for capital

purposes. It recognizes, moreover, the special claims of institutions still in development. The lessons of war, the spread of information about universities, the enlightened and powerful intervention of the present Government in aid of the universities, have brought many questions to the forefront. Such are

Whether universities ought to be communities enjoying a reasonable degree of cultural intimacy by personal contacts and interaction of studies,

Whether effectual community is possible unless many or most of the students live together in university Halls,

Whether there is an *optimum* size for universities, as a condition of social and academic unity,

Whether universities should be unitary and without limitation of the number of students, or should be collegiate,

Whether universities should organize their teaching on the basis of close personal contact between teachers and students,

Whether universities thrive best in the heart of great cities,

Whether all universities should be of one type,

Whether humane and cultural influences are sufficiently cultivated in universities,

Whether specialization, the indispensable technique of universities, is not also a disability and needs counteractives.

The misgivings of one country may be the accepted axioms of another!

These questions, as you will have observed, reflect the disturbing and suggestive clash between the old style of university and the new. But a sudden and almost violent realization of needs and possibilities is not policy. In a difficult and complex matter doubts and hopes, the nostalgia of racial memory and the ambitious novelty of planning, need time to settle down into practical shape. Here too, as in the case of the adolescents, there is a blend of policy and penitence, but very little of the one and far more of the other. The expert practitioners in university matters are too busy to plan, and are indisposed to philosophize. The idealists are scattered voices, unorganized and of weak impact. The public listens, but aloof. There is as yet no live forum, or responsive audience. In this period of suspense there are still those who discern concrete advantage clearly. This city and that region believe a university a good and needful thing, and themselves well worthy of one. York and the Potteries have made their demands heard, both ready to create *ab initio*, out of nothing. Other demands of the sort are likely to make themselves heard. No substantial answer is likely until the entire situation has been authoritatively surveyed by the University Grants Committee, or some other body.

Among the problems to be included in a comprehensive survey are the technical colleges. These exist in considerable numbers and in great variety of scope, size, and quality. Their case, urgent for long past, has now been forced into the foreground by the emphasis which the war has laid on technicianship. The problem is recognized, but neither practitioners nor theorists are ready with solutions. On the other hand the cause of the teachers' training colleges has made progress. The Committee which the Ministry of

Education set up recently to study the question with Sir Arnold McNair as Chairman reported in favour of grouping the training colleges, some administered by Church Committees and others by local authorities, around the provincial universities as centres. The Universities' plans reflect, as is natural, the wide variety of needs and conditions. The association of the training colleges with the universities, in whatever modalities it may take shape, is of the best augury. It portends the lengthening of the course from two to three years, and the possibility for some of the students to work for the degrees of the university with which their colleges are associated.

Lastly, I come to adult education or 'Further Education', as the Ministry of Education now calls it. The original pioneers in the Victorian period were University Extension lecturers from Oxford and Cambridge. Up and down England eager audiences of educated people listened to discourses on literature or history or science. Early in this century Mr. Albert Mansbridge, a railway clerk, whose name is now familiar throughout English-speaking countries, persuaded a group of Oxford 'dons' to help him to organize lectures for working-men. Thus was born a movement that has grown to be world-wide, the Workers' Educational Association, W.E.A. Its aim was high, nothing less than groups willing to pledge themselves to three-year courses of systematic study on university lines under university teachers. The W.E.A. is still a small body, influential by quality rather than magnitude. Its propaganda has told far outside the circle of its members. Its activities and still more its idea may be said to have prepared the masses for the educational side of the war. A modern army is an exacting and assiduous teacher of army techniques. These were balanced in England by lectures under ABCA, the Army Bureau for Current Affairs. The B.B.C. served as the civilians' ABCA. The entire nation in and out of the armed forces practised listening, learning, discussing, and arguing. Never before was the English mind so thoroughly awake, or so well supplied with counter-irritants against war anxieties. Peace now disposes the English mind to relax. But despite the present reaction, the vivification of the popular intelligence is a solid and lasting gain. The new generation has freed itself from the less attractive sides of old individualism, its narrow, brooding, and secretive temper. It thinks with more confidence and point, and thinking better, it expresses itself better. I need not enlarge on the consolidative value of the change for the community. The English begin again to be as articulate as their historians say they were in Elizabethan times. And this is good not only for themselves but for neighbour nations, who have sometimes found the English perplexing.

The change is easy to exemplify. The conference habit has taken root in all classes and callings. Exeter University College houses the majority of its students during term in ten commodious buildings. Term is no sooner over than vacation parties begin to arrive, of men or women or mixed, for a week-end, or a week, or a fortnight. It is the same in most residential Colleges. Not all the vacation parties are educational, at least in the strict sense, but their element is speechifying and discussion under friendly and intimate conditions. Educative they certainly are, and democratic—dangerous word!—if a democracy is a nation of friends, and if friendship means contacts, and freedom in talk, and reciprocal liking, and the coming of minds into one.

The 1944 Act requires the Local Authorities to give a lead in Further Education. They must either assume control of it, or set up consultative committees on which the various interests in the area have a voice. On behalf of the College I attended recently the consultative committee set up by Devon County Council. It resembled a public meeting—so many organizations had sent their representatives: the County Council itself, the College, the W.E.A., the County Committee for Music and Drama, the Women's Institute in the rural parishes, the Townswomen's Guilds in the towns, the Churches, the teachers, the Folk Dance Society, and others. They will meet again in July, in order to table their programmes of lectures, discussions, conferences, performances for next winter, so as to avoid encroaching on each other, and so as to bring deficiencies into view. These representatives will reassemble in good hope. The Ministry of Education and the County Council are now in law and honour bound to foster the work, this life-long work of stimulating the cultural interests of the newly-wed, the middle-aged, and the ageing, male and female, of any and every class. It is a generous ideal. Something, you may be sure, will come of it—great things, I think.

JOHN MURRAY

P. T. FORSYTH'S 'PRINCIPLE OF AUTHORITY'

I

IN THE MANY tributes that are now being paid to the work of Peter Taylor Forsyth,¹ one of the greatest British theologians of the present century, there is a persistent absence of any mention of his largest work—*The Principle of Authority—in relation to Certainty, Sanctity, and Society: an Essay in the Philosophy of Experimental Religion*, a volume of 475 pages, published by Hodder and Stoughton in 1913. Yet it deserves to be ranked with his book on *The Person and Place of Jesus Christ* as his greatest work. In a sense we may think of it as embodying his sociology, because though Forsyth does not develop the sociological implications, theology is for him no cloistered virtue and he is concerned all the time with the meaning of Christ for the total life and destiny of mankind. In another sense we may think of it as a vindication of the right of theology to speak to the modern world. R. G. Collingwood has probed in two searching and illuminating books: *The Idea of Nature* and *The Idea of History*. We greatly need someone to write relevantly and convincingly on 'The Idea of Theology'. In my judgement Forsyth's *The Principle of Authority* goes some considerable way toward meeting this need. Today the question of authority is up for discussion, and there are those who would answer it in a negative sense. In such discussion we cannot afford to neglect the greatness of Forsyth's study. His style, here as elsewhere, makes many demands upon the reader: but the reader who patiently works through him reaps a rich reward. His theme is quite simple. It is the expansion of the opening sentence of the address on 'The Evangelical Principle of Authority' which he gave at the second decennial International Congregational Council at Boston in 1899. It ran: 'The Cross is the final seat of authority, not only for the Church but for all human Society.' Every word in this sentence is important. Forsyth wrote in 1913:

The conviction in these pages is that the principle of authority is ultimately the whole religious question, that an authority of any practical kind draws its meaning and its right only from the soul's relation to its God, that this is so not only for religion strictly so called, nor for a Church, but for public life, social life, and the whole history and career of Humanity.²

II

Forsyth's thinking is spiral rather than systematic. He bores his way into the heart of a problem, leaving the reader to follow. He is more concerned with the moral response than with the logical climax. That is why an anthology of his profoundest truths would do him best justice. Let us hear his concentrated affirmation of the heart of the Gospel and its implication for the Church.

It means that the Revelation of the Holy [he says] can only come through Redemption by the Holy; that to us, ruined by sinful act, the only truth that

¹ 1848-1921. Congregational minister. For twenty-five years had pastorates in Bradford, London, Manchester, Leicester, and Cambridge. For twenty years Principal of Hackney College—now New College—London.

² p. 3.

represents Him is an act; that the absolute reality of the active and mighty world in its actual case is expressible only in an Eternal Deed; that the holy nature of God comes home by no prophetic exposition, even through Apostle or Saviour, but only by the priestly act in which the saving person consummates; that it cannot be taught us, it must be created in us by that act; that the Cross is the creative revelation of the holy, and the holy is what is above all else revealed in the Cross, going out as love and going down as grace; that the Holy Spirit's point of departure in history is the Cross; and that while our justification has its source in God's self-justification of His holiness there, our sanctification has the same source as both.³

What is the function of the Church in all this?

The prime service to our vast problem [says Forsyth] must be rendered by the Church. . . . The Church in its many forms has rendered vast service to human freedom. . . . And the Church has done this even more by the kind of authority it has provided than by direct exhortations to men to rise. . . . And the grand inspiration for human freedom is human redemption.

Today, as ever, the Church has to control, lead, and secure human freedom. And today, as ever, not by idolizing freedom, but by its old method of authority, by providing an authority whose very nature creates freedom—the authority, that is, not of the Church itself but of its Gospel and Saviour.⁴

III—CERTAINTY

Forsyth insists that final certainty comes in experience; but that it is not produced by the experience as such but by an authority active only in experience and especially in the corporate experience of a Church.

Nothing final and universal [he says] can be assured from the narrow resources of the individual experience. True, revelation can only speak the individual's *language*, but it utters much more than an individual *word*. The great truth is given and promised to a Church. The Apostle to Society is a Society.⁵

A real authority [he thinks] . . . is indeed *within* experience, but it is not the authority *of* experience, it is an authority *for* experience, it is an authority experienced.⁶

The Word which historically arrives *at* the Christian is spiritually a Word *to* him; and that not by a formal and collateral authority (like miracles or an episcopal succession) vouching it to be of God, but by its own creative content and nature, its intrinsic, miraculous, regenerative action in us.⁷

Our ultimate authority, then, which justifies every other authority in its degree and measure, is the Creator of the New Humanity as such. It is the Power who in His loving will in Christ bought up the claims upon us of the moral universe and of His own holy nature; whose grace, therefore, became our one creditor, so that faith became our one debt, to be paid with our soul and person alone.⁸

Forsyth maintains that in the New Testament

there was, of course, no universal theological formula, there was not an orthodoxy; but certainly there was a common Apostolic Gospel, a *Kerygma*.⁹

³ p. 8. ⁴ pp. 8, 9. ⁵ p. 66. ⁶ p. 83. ⁷ p. 131. ⁸ p. 136. ⁹ p. 141.

The foundation of the Church in every age is not a common system, but this common Gospel; wherein Christ is neither the mere symbol of spiritual Humanity, nor the mere sacrament of God's love, but the full Saviour of the race and of its destiny by a divine act crucial for God's holiness and for all history. . . . Variation about that Gospel is not enrichment, like theological variety; it is disintegration.¹⁰

IV—SANCTITY

Certainty is certainty of the holy God. Here Forsyth deals with four main questions. The first is, What is the nature of revelation?

Revelation [says Forsyth] is miraculous in its nature, like every access of the transcendent. . . . Science, with its boasted objectivity, is sheerly subjective. The experience it handles is founded in our notions of space and time, which are subjective contributions. A real objective, the certainty of a transcendent reality, we reach only by something in the nature of a miracle, something donated and invasive from the living God. Only so do we reach the conviction, so essential for religion, of a reality totally independent of ourselves.¹¹

What we know is God's holy, and loving, and creative knowledge of us. . . . The last reason for believing is non-rational.¹²

We are offered analogies in those social relations which concern religion so much. . . . But every analogue is limited in its contrast with the Eternal. . . . Religion belongs to that order of experience—our experience of persons known and not of known things—but it is the experience of a person's infinite and creative knowledge of us, a knowledge of us which creates our trust of him.¹³

Is there then any point of contact for us in revelation?

The *a priori* [answers Forsyth] is therefore not something which enables us to judge, but something which enables us so to be judged as to be redeemed.¹⁴

Its function is not criticism, but obedience; not rational legitimation, but moral response; not a voucher that the papers are in order, but an act of personal homage.¹⁵

But how shall we meet the problem of illusion in experience?

If there be any real revelation, one of its blessings must be [says Forsyth] that it puts us in the way of testing and sifting the form of religion that lies to our hand, and of parting between imagination and faith, or between what is mere psychology and what is the reality which no psychology, no science can give.¹⁶

There are two ways [he says] of answering the question raised by Illusionism. It is not illusion—some say because it fits to what was in us before, others because it brings something so new and powerful that it means a new creation.¹⁷

The second is Forsyth's way.

The most real [he insists] is the new creative, the redemptive; so that our last footing, which must be in the metaphysic of ethic and action, is in the central moral act of Humanity, in the historic objective of Christ's Cross; which functions afresh in every regenerate soul, by a mystery intelligible to the Creator Redeemer alone, however sensible to us.¹⁸

¹⁰ p. 142.¹¹ pp. 171-2.¹² p. 173.¹³ p. 174.¹⁴ p. 176.¹⁵ p. 189.¹⁶ p. 218.¹⁷ p. 220.¹⁸ p. 221.

And are we to think of revelation as final? Forsyth answers that

if the one absolutely precious thing in the world is the good will then the Will perfectly good is the source and measure of the world's destiny. Has Christ such a will, on the scale of man's whole soul? . . . Does our faith possess in Christ the very authentic heart of God, His actual saving Will achieved, His final moral victory in history over every challenge and defiance? Then nothing in this world of God's creation can either arrest Christ's work or take precedence of it. That is the source of the New Creation, which lay with all its resources behind the exercise of the first.¹⁹

V—SOCIETY

Forsyth thinks of the Christian certainty as creating sanctity and manifested as the centre of authority and power in the life of a particular society, the Church, whose function is to sanctify the whole of that humanity which Christ has redeemed. It is profitable to consider what he has to say under four heads.

Forsyth firstly endeavours to vindicate the principle of authority against its critics. He states that principle in a remarkable utterance on the relation between grace and truth.

Christ comes full of grace and truth [he says], but with the grace uppermost and always central. Grace represents the fixed, fontal, authoritative, evangelical element; truth, the element free, adjustable, and catholic. The one appeals to our personal life-conviction, the other to our scientific judgement. We own the authority of grace by impression and not perception, by conviction and not observation, by regeneration and not recantation, by life and not by thought. It is in personal relation with us. It is the authority in-it that breeds the knowledge, the science, the theology. It is the ground of the knowledge (though, of course, in the empirical order of time, the knowledge may come first). There is assent as well as trust; but the *fiducia* precedes the *assensus*, and produces it freely. The freedom that is worth most to Christian theology is not free thought but a free soul. It is not cosmic and rational, but ethical, vital, evangelical. It is not the freedom of the world's organized harmony, but the freedom of Christ's reconciliation, of free and freeing grace.²⁰

But Forsyth also states the principle of authority in a passage which relates in true perspective the individual conscience, the Church as the society of God, and the redemption of all mankind.

The only moral authority that can save society [he declares] is one that thus asserts itself in the individual conscience by its saved experience of a universal Redeemer; who therefore becomes our spiritual feoffee with His absolute gift and new creation of eternal life. The authority is thus religious and personal, and more than rational or institutional. The Church is authoritative only as it has the power and note of this Gospel. The authority is this Redeemer in this experience, changing, ruling, and normalizing every conscience, acting through the message and confession of an historic Church of such consciences, which is the witness of the Gospel and the social agent of its principle, yet not the vicar of Christ nor the Judge of the world. It is the authority of grace saving the guilty conscience and not only the miserable heart, and saving the conscience of a race, by the power of a society, into the obedience of a kingdom.²¹

¹⁹ p. 230.

²⁰ pp. 453-4.

²¹ p. 338.

Forsyth is, of course, well aware of the many who repudiate the principle of authority.

Many earnest and forward people today [he says] are concerned with the repudiation of an external authority. Some are as passionate about it as only those can be who do not gauge, or even grasp, the situation. Often they are more concerned to repudiate the externality than to own the authority. They are not always quite clear what externality means. An authority must be external, in some real sense, or it is none. It must be external to us. It must be something not ourselves, descending on us in a grand paradox. We might well for a little relax our recalcitrant animus against the externality of the authority and bestow more anxious pains upon the reality of it. Is an obedience the groundtone of Christian life and action? Some vehement antagonists of external authority lose all influence (except with the crowd) because their type and demeanour of mind show that their groundtone is not obedience, not historic continuity, and not competency, but mere autonomy, mere recalcitrance, extending occasionally to intellectual turbulence. They do not impress us as habitually and palpably living under any authority higher than their better instincts, or their conscience at best. And their very conscience often does not impress us as either a ruled or an instructed conscience. . . . Even Christ they bring to this bar, and every Word of God. They do not believe it because it is God's; for them it is only God's in so far as they understand and agree. They may expatiate more freely in the spirit of Christ than they live on His Work or His Word. As if we could ever have the Spirit of Christ except by His Work, or keep it except by absolute submission.²²

So, too, he considers the question of liberty and its limits in the Church.

When any community ceases to care whether it is a real Church of the apostolic Gospel [he says], so long as it is for the hour rationally free, pious and social, that simply means that evangelical liberty, the release of the conscience from itself by God for God, has been lost in the assertive liberty of the atomic, unhistoric, natural man exercised on a religious matter. Such a body then means nothing for the Gospel any more. To renounce the Word is, in principle, to dissolve the Church. . . .

No Church, no minister, has any right to claim freedom *from* the apostolic word, but only *for* that Word.²³

It is in the same area of thought that Forsyth asserts the meaning of the Holy Spirit as rooted in the redemption of Christ.

The very meaning of the Holy Spirit in history [he says] is a mediated immediacy of our relation to historic fact.²⁴

And he adds:

We are apt to be more interested in the inspiration of an incalculable spirit that blows as it will than in God's act of justification, which sets us for ever at the Spirit's source in the final act of His saving will. Yet to put spirituality in the place of justification is to vaporize the Church.²⁵

But, it may be asked, does not Forsyth at this point deny the stress of the Reformation on the unlimited right of private judgement? Forsyth, however, will not admit that this is the stress which the Reformation laid.

²² pp. 306, 307.

²³ pp. 284-5.

²⁴ p. 358.

²⁵ p. 394.

What the Reformation said [argues Forsyth], was that the layman with his Bible in his hand had at his side the same Holy Spirit as the minister. Each had the testimony of the Spirit as the supreme religious Expositor of Scripture. And, since for that age the whole Bible was equally inspired, the witness of the Holy Ghost was held to bear upon everything in the Bible. (Even then the ministry, being specially appointed by the Church, had an authority in worship and teaching belonging to no layman who was without such appointment.) But now that we do not so read the Bible, now that we distinguish in the Bible much that belongs only to knowledge or imagination from much that belongs to personal faith, much that is outgrown from the things that cannot change—now the region where the layman's word is as good as the minister's, and the ignorant equals the expert, is much circumscribed. It is confined to the testimony of personal experience under the Gospel, and to the witness of what God has done for the confessor's soul. That is the only region of the entire liberty of prophesying. It does not extend, without special discipline, to points in the Bible outside that, where preaching becomes teaching, and individual confession becomes the theology of the Church.²⁶

The second main head under which we can group Forsyth's teaching on the principle of authority as applied to society is the Bible. Forsyth does not enter deeply into Biblical issues in this book as he does in others, but he does illuminate the central point. He raises the questions himself.

If the last authority has its seat in experience, what is the place for the authority of the Bible? . . . Is a real recognition of the finality of the Bible revelation compatible with a certainty based on our experience and realized there?²⁷

Forsyth objects to the idea of *trying* Bible Christianity because the results will verify it, because he argues that the results of the Gospel presuppose an absolute faith in it. He asks:

How can an individual experience prove a universal cause?²⁸

The Bible claims to be truer than we, or the race, or the Church, have yet experienced. And we believe the Bible for other reasons than the mere subjective reason that it meets our 'felt need'. The Bible claims to have in it the salvation of the whole world—which the whole world has not yet experienced, nor as a whole feels to need. And the mere fact that its Gospel satisfies me does not warrant me in believing offhand that it has the power to satisfy and crown Humanity. Besides, the greatest need that the Gospel meets is not felt till it is revealed in us by our certainty of the Gospel coming as a fact with a right and claim.²⁹

Yes, Forsyth asserts:

There is an autonomy and finality in the Bible for faith. . . . The Christian experience is not something we bring rationally to the Bible to test scriptural truth; it is something miraculously created in us by the Bible to respond to divine power acting as grace; and it can therefore be in no collision with the authority which makes the Bible what it is, the authority of the Gospel, of the Redeemer felt and owned as Redeemer. It is not our independent verification but our appropriation and completion of God's gift and revelation of Himself by faith of the most intimate, and therefore mysterious, kind. . . . To such experience the authority in the Bible

²⁶ pp. 320-1.

²⁷ p. 373.

²⁸ p. 375.

²⁹ p. 375.

is no more antagonistic than the action of a free and gracious Creator in any shape need be to the free and growing creature. Christian experience is the experience of the authority of the Gospel; it is not an experience which becomes the authority for the Gospel; whose authority can be most mighty when every reason drawn from human experience is against it.³⁰

The third head under which Forsyth's teaching may be grouped is, naturally enough, the Church, which is never far from his thoughts. He draws a contrast between Church and democracy.

Between a Church and a democracy there is this fundamental difference and difficulty. No numbers can create a real authority for the conscience, such as we have within the Church; whereas democracy will listen to no authority but what its members, its majorities, do create. And its individualism and its subjectivity make it equally incompetent and indocile, at its present stage, for the supreme questions and issues of Humanity and of the Soul. It is too sure of itself and too full of itself, and it has no idea that it exists more for God's glory than God does for its ideals.³¹

The real question for the Church is this:

Do our Churches really, practically, i.e. consciously and experimentally, rest on an obedience, a certainty, and a security which they *feel* to be deeper and graver than their sense or claim or freedom?³²

What then is the authority of the Church?

In any faith which is more than theistic [says Forsyth] we commune with an authority which is not simply God, but God as He has bestowed Himself on man, God as actual to historic Humanity and its evil case, God in history, God holy in guilty history, God as He gives Himself for man's sin in the historic Gospel, God our eternal Redeemer in Christ. That Gospel and grace has an authority not only historic but absolute in the experience of Christian men.³³

In so far as the Church is expressive of that Gospel, and created by it, it shares in its authority. . . . Great is the moral and mental authority of the Church of the Gospel, tempered and matured by an age-long experience of human life in contact with the last, the Eternal, Reality. Let us never in the name of a personal Christianity so reject the authority of the Church as to do despite to the great communion and conviction of saints. Christianity can only exist in the world as a Church and not as a mere spiritual movement in the midst of society. If the final authority is God in Gospel, the Church shares in that authority as the expert of the Gospel and the soul.³⁴

To own a Church authority duly, to own it as real though not absolute . . . is to enlarge oneself; it is not to stunt and enslave. The Church of faith is one of those limits to our individuality which neutralize our limitations and exult our obedience into loyalty. The Gospel Revelation contemplated a Church; therefore only a Church could grasp the whole compass of the Revelation. The great truth was delivered and promised to a Church, and not to any individual or group. It could never be grasped by the individual, who must, therefore, allow great authority to the competent in correcting facts and to the Catholic tradition which runs through the Churches and braces them in eternal unity. We have no right to repudiate elements

³⁰ pp. 377-8.

³¹ p. 265.

³² p. 363.

³³ pp. 367-8.

³⁴ pp. 368, 369.

in that tradition merely because they are as yet beyond us, so long as they do not contradict the evangelical principle of the Revelation itself. And there are some such elements that we must recover.²⁵

But, fourthly, the thought of the Church leads inevitably to the thought of the sanctifying of Humanity which Forsyth sees as the great trust of the Church, and which the Church alone has resources to accomplish.

We can sanctify Humanity [he urges] only by the worship of One who is in it but not of it. We can hallow society only by hallowing within it the society of the Church. And the Church can take and keep its spiritual place as the Church of the living God only if by its living God we mean no glorified individual, but the Triune God who is the peculiar revelation of Christ. For the Christian God is not the Father, but the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ in the Spirit. It was such a God in such a revelation, such a self-donation of His in Son and Spirit, that created the Church; and no other God can sustain it. The power that makes the Church a community of men is the same power that makes communion between man and God; and that again is the same power which makes the eternal bond of communion between Father and Son—the Holy Spirit. So solemn as that is the Church—no less unearthly than that—resting on the Word of a Reconciliation which binds in one the powers of Eternity itself.²⁶

But this is not, of course, the common understanding of the fullest life of humanity, as Forsyth was well aware.

Men are mostly agreed as to the educational necessity of authority [he says], but they are not agreed as to its place or necessity in our final stage. They are not agreed that man's perfection is for ever absolute obedience to an absolute Lord. Is there really an absolute authority for the moral adult, or for the adult stage of the race; or is the free man the superman, monarch of all he sees or knows? . . . The whole note of extra-Christian ethic is the moral autonomy of Humanity. It does not contemplate in an adult Humanity the recognition of any final and absolute authority.²⁷

Forsyth's answer to this may be given in one of those lapidary phrases which are so characteristic of his style, and which so reward reflection.

How can Humanity be truly or permanently free if it find its freedom anywhere short of the absolute God and His salvation?

VI

If we study P. T. Forsyth today it is because he was ahead of his own generation and we are only beginning to catch up with him. And it may be asked whether in his wrestlings with the principle of the authority of the Gospel he was aware of what was going on round about him. Did he, in 1913, see anything of the forces at work to produce the world we have known? I think he will stand the test. Let us listen to him again.

In an age like the present [he writes], when culture has become more varied and general than ever before, and when elaborate civilization has combined with great wealth to set men free to follow easy ideals, interests, and hobbies at the cost of

²⁵ p. 370.

²⁶ p. 259.

²⁷ pp. 351-2.

hard righteousness, the sources and guides of action are not the highest (though they are not the lowest). The greatest issues of the soul are rarely handled in our current Literature, which, with its sterile passion of moral mutiny, contains no spiritual guidance, and little or no spiritual insight. Meantime the range of action has grown with the growing world, and the results of a step which used to effect but a country or a continent now vibrate or crash across the globe. And yet the wider the action the higher the motive must be.

As action grows more wide and even universal, so much the higher must its sources and motives be, if it is to be guided to human safety and final gain. What we find, therefore, is that, in our civilization, the height of our source and the weight of our control do not fit the breadth and variety of our energies. And that is where we may well feel concern. The widest and humanist ends, being moral and spiritual, cannot continue to be pursued upon rational and aesthetic principles alone. Action has become social, and culture is not social, but individual or cliquish. True social action must have a moral inspiration, more even than a sympathetic. It is in the moral region that the real unity of society lies. The only true universal is the conscience. And control of an horizon so wide as we see must proceed from something less individual and less self-centred than either the atomic conscience or the culture of sets, something which reaches the heights and depths of the racial conscience, inspires its heroisms, and above all heals its helpless wound.²⁸

VII

P. T. Forsyth spoke to a generation which was concerned to repudiate the chains of outworn dogma, to jettison any special privileges and importance of the Church in the life of the world, and to accept any sincere insight as the guidance of the Holy Spirit. To the element of truth in this concern Forsyth was not unresponsive. But he recognized it as a spend-thrift policy which would in the end empty out the eternal and historic resources of the Church of Christ and leave it without a word of power to meet the need of the world. The chief sufferer from the Church's self-conscious reluctance to accept the call of God to be the centre and goal of history is not primarily the Church (though the Church also suffers), it is the total life of humanity. To people immersed in the practical details of social tasks, the urgent importance of a Gospel of Redemption may not be apparent. There are always things to be done, and things that we can do, however superficial or debased our outlook. But over the years the true handling of the practical issues of human conduct depends upon the stored-up energy of regenerated living. It is the task of the Church for the sake of the world, so to stand under the authority of the Gospel, in the obedience of faith, that it accumulates resources of insight and action which can be made available for the healing of the nations. In such a time as this, then, it is important that we should learn to listen to the simple but profound message of P. T. Forsyth.

The Cross is the final seat of authority, not only for the Church but for all human society.

How can humanity be truly or permanently free if it find its freedom anywhere short of the absolute God and His salvation?

HUBERT CUNLIFFE-JONES

METHODISM AND THE '45 REBELLION

TWO hundred years ago England was faced with its last great civil war— if that indeed is the correct term for the invasion from Scotland of the Young Pretender, Prince Charles Edward Stuart, and his army of Scots. Though the Stuarts had been driven out in 1688, and the Hanoverian line established, Protestant monarchs sat uneasily on the throne of Britain. Plots and counter-plots were the rule, even after the Old Pretender's attempt to regain the crown in 1715 had failed. The supporters of the Stuart dynasty—the 'Jacobites'—became identified in the popular imagination (as they largely were in reality) with the 'Papists', the members of the Roman Catholic Church. The two terms became interchangeable forms of abuse, used indiscriminately of anyone who was unpopular. It was perhaps inevitable that Methodism, coming to birth in these troublous days, should be stigmatized as an underground movement organized by the supporters of the Stuart cause.

As early as 1739 John Wesley had written in his *Journal*:

Indeed the report now current in Bristol was that I was a Papist, if not a Jesuit. Some added that I was born and bred at Rome.

Wesley's indignant refutation of the charge overlooks a probable cause, the circulation in Bristol of Captain Williams's account of Wesley's High-Church procedure in Georgia, whence he had only recently escaped. Indeed, one contemporary description of Wesley's actions in Georgia specifically charged him with Papist practices. From Bristol these tales quickly spread throughout the country. In Wales, for example, one clergyman vowed that 'upon his personal knowledge' Wesley was a Papist. In 1741 the rumour was going round London that Wesley 'kept two popish priests in his house', and was being paid by Spain (which country had been at war with England for two years) to raise an army of 20,000 in support of an intended Spanish invasion. In 1742 similar accusations were still finding acceptance, one deranged young woman causing much unrest even among the Methodists by her vehement claims:

I assure you, Mr. Wesley is a Papist, and so am I; he converted me. You know how I used to pray to saints and to the Virgin Mary! It was Mr. Wesley taught me when I was in the bands.

A year later Wesley took the opportunity of poking fun at people's credulity in such matters, describing in his *Journal* some churchyard debaters discussing his sermon:

Some said, 'He must be a Quaker'; others, 'an Anabaptist'. But, at length, one deeper learned than the rest brought them all clearly over to his opinion, that he was a *Presbyterian-Papist*!

A new version of the rumour arose in Cornwall in 1743. This was to the effect that John Wesley (or someone pretending to be him, for reports also said that he was in prison, or that he was dead) had been seen in the company of the Young Pretender, who was travelling under the incognito of 'John Downes'

As a matter of fact Wesley was in Cornwall with someone calling himself John Downes—for the good reason that such was his real name. He was one of Wesley's preachers, and a touch of fever keeping him indoors probably led to the belief that he was in hiding. In later years a similar rumour was to attach itself to Charles Wesley, the Pretender in this case being his 'charioteer', James Waller.

All this was but the prelude to the storm. So far the Methodists had been attacked with words alone. A change in the international situation brought a drastic alteration. France—like Spain, a predominantly Roman Catholic country—began giving support to the Stuart claims to the throne of Britain. A great army was assembled at Dunkirk. In February 1744 the invasion of England seemed imminent. The country seethed with rumours. Then the weather took a hand, a storm scattering the French fleet. For the moment, danger was removed.

The inevitable declaration of war against France, in March, roused great enthusiasm. Popular zeal against all suspected Jacobites and Papists was intensified. The Government itself had ordered 'all Papists and reputed Papists' to leave London by 2nd March. John Wesley had intended leaving town about that time in any case, but realized that this would be accepted as a confession of guilt. He therefore resolved to stay an extra week. He even had a long conversation with the officers who were searching in the largely French district of Spitalfields, whilst a sullen crowd catcalled him. Three days later he wrote, but on second thoughts did not present, an address 'To the King's Most Excellent Majesty', avowing that the Methodists

detest and abhor the fundamental doctrines of the Church of Rome, and are steadily attached to your Majesty's royal person and illustrious house.

Nevertheless, when Wesley returned from his journey to Bristol it was to find a summons to go before the Surrey justices, who were still not satisfied about his loyalty. When he cordially agreed 'to take the oaths to his Majesty, and to sign the declaration against Popery', they seemed a little taken aback.

Meantime Charles Wesley was proclaiming the loyalty of the Methodists in the north, whilst in the Midlands some of the lay-preachers were being hauled before magistrates and hectored into swearing oaths which they were not even allowed to read. One of them, John Healey, managed to get in a shrewd dig about Methodism's supposed alliance with Popery. When asked to take the oaths he replied:

I will take them now; but I would not before I heard [the] Mr. Wesleys; for I was a Jacobite till they convinced me of his Majesty's right.

When Thomas Westall, another lay-preacher, held his hands in front of his eyes it was immediately remarked: 'See, see! He is confessing his sins!'

As Charles Wesley rode south from Newcastle, he heard that evidence was being collected to prove him a Jacobite. He later made a copy of the warrant in question, calling for

information against one Wesley, or any other of the Methodist speakers, for speaking any treasonable words or exhortations, as praying for the banished, or for the Pretender, etc.

Like his brother, Charles Wesley lacked neither courage nor resolution. He decided to go out of his way in order to face his accusers and stamp on this rumour at its birth. He took oath before the justices concerned, and when they would have dismissed him, turned defence into attack. He refused to go until all the evidence had been sifted, and his character fully cleared, maintaining (truly enough) 'It is no trifling matter. Even my life is concerned in the charge'. Most of the evidence rapidly melted away, his accusers being afraid to face him. One point only remained. He admitted to having prayed 'for the banished', but pointed out that by this he had not meant the Stuart Pretenders, but 'those that confess themselves strangers and pilgrims upon earth, who seek a country, knowing this is not their place'. Even then he would not go until he had taken the oaths again, and 'till they acknowledged in explicit terms "my loyalty unquestionable" '.

Thus at the very outset of the serious rioting caused by the imminent rebellion the two Wesleys had clearly defined their position. For some months, however, the rank and file of Methodist preachers and people continued to suffer. For instance, on 11th April 1744, which was a National Fast Day on account of the threatened invasion by the Pretender, the incumbent of St. Ives preached so furiously against the Methodists as Jacobites and Papists that riots ensued.

One of the worst forms of persecution was that imposed with some show of legality by the press-gangs. Early in the century, dread of a Stuart invasion had brought into being a law 'for the better recruiting Her Majesty's Army and Marines', which gave justices power to

levy such able-bodied men, as have not any lawful calling or employment or visible means for their maintenance and livelihood, to serve as soldiers.

In March 1744, immediately after the declaration of war on France, the press-gangs got to work in earnest, and many justices made a special point of inciting them to take Methodist preachers. One of the first to be impressed was Daniel Sant of Nottingham. The reputed Pretender, John Downes, was also taken, being thrown into Lincoln gaol for his own safety. The most well-known case is that of John Nelson, the Birstal mason, who was finally released (partly through the influence of the Countess of Huntingdon) in July. Another preacher, Thomas Beard, was not so fortunate, dying as a result of his impressment.

The persecutions continued during the whole period that rebellion could be sensed in the air. Nor were legal forms always observed. In Cornwall the justices, led by Dr. Walter Borlase, brother of the famous antiquarian, directed their attention against Methodists who obviously did not come under the scope of the recruiting Act, being 'well known to have lawful callings, and a sufficient maintenance thereby'. The same thing was happening in Wales, whence Howell Harris wrote that they were

hunted like partridges, but still the work prospers. Four of our brethren have been pressed, and are now in Brecon Gaol. One of them was apprehended last year. Of the other three, one was a private man, one a Welsh schoolmaster to Mr. Griffith Jones, and the other taught an English school.

The Countess of Huntingdon's preachers seemed particularly victimized during these months, without receiving any redress from the magistrates. When she complained to Lord Carteret he replied, on 19th November 1744, in the following placatory terms:

Madam: I laid your remonstrance before His Majesty, the King. My Royal Master commands me to assure your Ladyship that, as the father and protector of his people, he will suffer no persecution on account of religion; and I am desired to inform all magistrates to afford protection and countenance to such persons as may require to be protected in the conscientious discharge of their religious observances.

His Majesty is fully sensible of your Ladyship's attachment to the House of Hanover; and has directed me to assure your Ladyship of his most gracious favor and kindest wishes. . . .

The first Methodist Conference, meeting at London in the summer of 1744, reflected little of the seething unrest of the times, although it did consider the lawfulness of Christians bearing arms, and also the desirability of invoking the powers of the law against rioters.

John Wesley was at a loss to understand the persecution, especially after public avowals of loyalty had been made. He thought that it was perhaps based on the fact that the Methodists preached 'inward, present salvation, as attainable by faith alone', which because of its unfamiliarity was regarded as a Papist doctrine. 'For this', he wrote in March 1745,

we were represented, both from the pulpit and the press (we have heard it with our ears, and seen it with our eyes), as introducing Popery, raising sedition, practising both against Church and State; and all manner of evil was publicly said both of us and those who were accustomed to meet with us.

The literary activities of the Wesley brothers during this period reveal both the difficulties and the opportunities of the time. On the one hand Charles Wesley wrote *Hymns for Times of Trouble*, *Hymns in Time of Persecution*, and *Hymns to be Sung in a Tumult*. On the other John Wesley commenced a series of small tracts urging the man (and woman) in the street to face up to his (or her) civic duties. These were entitled *A Word to a Drunkard*, *A Word to a Swearer*, *A Word to a Protestant*, etc. In the last-named he urged people to think more about their supposed religious principles, and not to remain content with being Protestants in name alone, seeing that 'the open Papists are on the very point of swallowing up the pretended Protestants'.

The days immediately preceding the actual rebellion continued to bring persecution to the Methodists. In the spring of 1745 there was a serious outbreak of rioting at Exeter, in which

some of the women were lamed, and others stripped naked and rolled most indecently in the kennel [i.e. the gutter], their faces besmeared with lamp-black, flour, and dirt.

It was to continue in a modified form throughout the days of the Stuart invasion, though not with the same intensity as in the months of foreboding which had preceded it. In July an attempt was made to press John Wesley himself as a soldier, though his calm courage warded off a threatening tragedy, and eventually caused the perpetrator of the outrage to slink away with his tail between his legs.

In April 1745, the English fighting in France were defeated in the bloody battle of Fontenoy, in which John Haime and other Methodist soldiers proved themselves models of bravery. Encouraged by this omen, the Young Pretender set sail in June for Jacobite Scotland. The news of the sea-fight which preceded his landing was not allowed to interrupt Wesley's preparations for his second Conference, which was held at Bristol a few weeks later. The Conference over, Wesley set off on his tour of the Midlands. The Young Pretender and his 'seven men of Moidart' had by now rallied a strong army round them, and at Perth Charles Edward had proclaimed his father King.

Reaching Sheffield on 11th September, Wesley heard that the danger in the north was becoming really serious. He made a typical decision: 'I judged it best to go straight to Newcastle.' Newcastle, of course, was regarded as the Pretender's obvious first objective, and reinforcements were being rushed there. Wesley arrived just in time to hear that Edinburgh had been captured. His *Journal* describes vividly the feverish preparations now made to defend Newcastle against the approaching invader. He also tells how the Methodists were called fools for deciding to stay in their 'Orphan House' outside the city walls, whilst more prudent citizens were trundling their possessions into fortified safety.

On 21st September the English suffered a shattering defeat at Prestonpans, the news reaching Newcastle the same day, and causing a near-panic. It was in this battle that gallant Colonel Gardiner fell, one of the few English to stand firm. Wesley read appreciatively of his exploits in his funeral sermon by Philip Doddridge, which Lady Huntingdon sent him the following January—he was also to read Gardiner's *Life*, and to make a pilgrimage to the scene of his death. On the day of the battle Wesley wrote to the Mayor of Newcastle, once more proclaiming the loyalty of the Methodists:

All I can do for his Majesty, whom I honour and love—I think not less than I did my own father—is this: I cry unto God, day by day, in public and in private, to put all his enemies to confusion; and I exhort all that hear me to do the same; and in their several stations, to exert themselves as loyal subjects, who, so long as they fear God, cannot but honour the King.

To this letter Wesley added a private note of exhortation, pleading with the Mayor to use his influence to stop 'the open, flagrant wickedness, the drunkenness and profaneness, which so abound even in our streets'. Whilst he continued to move about the neighbouring countryside encouraging the members of the Methodist Societies, the conduct of the general public weighed more and more heavily on Wesley's heart. On 15th October he wrote a tract entitled *A Word in Season: or, Advice to an Englishman*. No one can read this and remain unmoved by his burning conviction that this may be the last chance the English people

will have for repentance. He writes with all the urgency of an Old Testament prophet:

We have now war at our own doors; our own countrymen turning their swords against their brethren. And have any hitherto been able to stand before them? Have they not already seized upon one whole kingdom? Friend, either think now, or sleep on and take your rest, till you drop into the pit where you will sleep no more!

He cannot agree with the consoling thought that, after all, conditions would be no worse under Stuart than under Hanoverian rule:

Nothing is plainer than that the Pretender cannot be King in England, unless it be by conquest. But every conqueror may do what he will; the laws of the land are no laws to him. . . . How dreadful then is the condition wherein we stand? On the very brink of utter destruction! But why are we thus? I am afraid the answer is too plain to every considerate man: Because of our sins.

Wesley proceeds to enumerate these sins in detail, calling men to a fresh dedication to God, the only reliable ally. The message is hammered home by a hymn:

*Regard, Thou righteous God, and true,
Regard Thy weeping people's prayer,
Before the sword our land go through,
Before Thy latest plague we bear,
Let all to Thee, their Smiter, turn,
Let all beneath Thine anger mourn.*

*The sword which first bereaved abroad,
We now within our borders see:
We see but slight thy nearer rod,
So oft, so kindly, warn'd by Thee:
We still Thy warning love despise,
And dare Thine utmost wrath to rise.*

*Yet for the faithful remnant's sake,
Thine utmost wrath awhile defer,
If haply we at last may wake,
And trembling at destruction near
The cause of all our evils own,
And leave the sins for which we groan.*

It was also felt necessary in this pamphlet to emphasize once more Methodist loyalty to the Crown, so the tract ended with another hymn, 'For His Majesty King George'—rather a feeble production, one must confess, even though its sentiments were sound.

After staying for some weeks within call of Newcastle, and the threatened danger not materializing, Wesley finally returned to his interrupted Midland tour, arriving at Leeds on 5th November to find Gunpowder Plot celebrations in full swing,

the town full of bonfires, and people shouting, firing of guns, cursing and swearing, as the English manner of keeping holidays is.

He reported to the Magistrates the news that had reached him on the road, that the Pretender was marching south, apparently avoiding strongly-guarded Newcastle. The news spread so rapidly that not only were the streets emptied as by a cleansing breeze, but when Wesley resumed his journey he had to complain of

many interruptions in the way by those poor tools of watchmen, who stood, with great solemnity, at the end of almost every village.

The enemy took Carlisle and reached Manchester, where was a strong Jacobite faction. On 4th December the Young Pretender arrived as far south as Derby. The news threw London into a panic. So great were the demands on the Bank of England that a financial disaster was averted only by paying all withdrawals in sixpences. There was a noticeable turning to religion, and Wesley could write:

The alarm daily increasing concerning the rebels on the one hand and the French on the other, we perceived the wisdom and goodness of Him who hath His way in the whirlwind. The generality of people were a little inclined to think, and many began to own the hand of God.

He was in London himself at the time, putting the finishing touches to his *Farther Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion*, 'the state of public affairs loudly demanding that whatever was done should be done quickly'. He repeated the message of his *Word in Season*, but for more educated minds. He pleaded that the ruling classes should no longer support the persecution of the Methodists by joining forces with the

infamous, scandalous rabble-rout, roaring and raging as if they were just broke loose, with their captain Apollyon, from the bottomless pit.

But even as he wrote news arrived which made him feel that he was asking for the impossible. In the last section but one he revealed what had happened to still another Methodist preacher:

Just now, viz., on the 4th of this instant December, the Reverend Mr. Henry Wickham, one of His Majesty's Justices of Peace for the West-riding of Yorkshire, writes an order *To the Constable of Keighley*, commanding him, 'to convey the body of Jonathan Reeves' (whose real crime is, the calling sinners to repentance) 'to His Majesty's gaol and castle of York; suspected', said the precept, 'of being a spy among us, and a dangerous man to the person and government of His Majesty King George'.

God avert the omen! I fear this is no presage either of the repentance or deliverance of our poor nation!

Wesley was mistaken, however, at least as to his second fear. This very day marked the limits of the Pretender's march into England. His officers, some of whom had from the beginning condemned his headstrong determination to

invade England at all, would go no farther south. On Black Friday, 6th December, the retreat began. Popular fear did not immediately subside, however. On 18th December, the day set aside for a National Fast, every church in London was packed for all the services, and Wesley noted that 'such a solemnity and seriousness everywhere appeared as had not been lately seen in England'. The battle of Culloden, on 16th April 1746, finally removed the Stuart danger, and on the following 9th November Wesley could record in his *Journal*:

The day of Public Thanksgiving for the victory at Culloden was to us a day of solemn joy.

Even though he rejoiced at the overthrow of the Young Pretender, Wesley was to reveal, at any rate in later years, a sneaking admiration for the romantic exploits of that dashing young man. Shortly after its publication in 1785 he read Boswell's prelude to the full-length *Life of Dr. Johnson*, the *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* From this he took extracts, which appeared from time to time in his *Arminian Magazine*. Now one of the main features of Boswell's book was a four-thousand-word account of the Young Pretender's wanderings and final escape. This so captured Wesley's interest that he lifted the whole passage practically verbatim—quite contrary to his usual abridging technique—and published it in three instalments in the *Arminian Magazine* for 1790. He gave no indication as to the origin of the story, entitling it simply 'An Account of the Escape of the Chevalier, after the Battle of Culloden'. This plagiarism, though a normal practice, was on this occasion gently reproved by his printer, who added to a passage in the first person this note: 'The name of the Writer of this Narrative did not come to the Printer's knowledge.'

Such was the loyal attitude that Methodists had adopted during the '45 Rebellion that they can be pardoned for expecting that allegations of being Jacobites or Papists would quickly cease. But no! In 1747 Wesley wrote to his banker-friend, Ebenezer Blackwell, regarding the work in Cornwall:

Some of the gentlemen (so called) are almost the only opposers now. . . . The most violent Jacobites among these are continually crying out that we are bringing the Pretender; and some of these worthy men bear His Majesty's commission as Justices of the Peace.

Two years later Bishop Lavington launched his reasoned but rancorous attack in a book entitled *The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists Compar'd*.

Though the specific charge of Jacobitism gradually lost point, and was dropped, Wesley had continually to defend himself from charges of being allied with Rome. In 1768 Archdeacon Blackburne wrote:

The Popish party boast much of the increase of the Methodists, and talk of that sect with rapture. How far the Methodists and Papists stand connected in Principles I know not; but I believe it is beyond a doubt that they are in constant correspondence with each other.

On reading this, Wesley indignantly exclaimed:

What amazing ignorance, . . . not to say impudence, does it imply, for anyone at this time of day to tax me with having any connexions with Popery!

But it mattered not. Such reports continued to circulate till Wesley's death, and even after. As recently as 1875 a clergyman publicly accused Wesley of being a 'virtual Papist'.

Yet although in his old age Wesley could still be captivated by the Young Pretender's exploits, the tenor of the greater part of his life had revealed him as strongly—almost bitterly at times—opposed to the Roman Catholic faith. It has been suggested that his attitude passed on a heritage of Rome-hating to the Methodist people. In view of the bitter persecutions which the supposed connection of his followers with Rome brought, it is remarkable that he showed as much charity as he actually did towards the Roman Catholics. In the very heart of the rebellion he was telling his people to

abhor every kind and degree of persecution, let your heart burn with love to all mankind . . . to Christians, Heathens, Jews, Turks, Papists, heretics; to every soul which God hath made.

(One notices, of course, the careful distinction made between Christians and Papists!) Twenty years later, answering still another charge of Popery—made this time by one of his former friends—he wrote:

'Oh, but Mr. Hervey says *you are half a Papist*.' What if he had *proved* it too? What if he had proved I was a *whole* Papist? (though he might as easily have proved me a Mahometan). Is not a Papist a child of God? Is Thomas à Kempis, Mr. De Renty, Gregory Lopez gone to hell? Believe it who can. Yet still of such (though Papists) the same is my brother and sister and mother.

We rise from a study of Wesley's reactions in a most trying period of British history with a vivid impression of his calm courage, his refusal to be betrayed to extremes by party-cries, and his never-failing charity. Little wonder is left in our minds that the followers of such a man could help so greatly in averting from England the horrors of a revolution such as was to overtake France in later years, when John Wesley himself had passed over where the hand of rebellion could no longer reach.

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| Basil Williams | <i>The Whig Supremacy, 1714-60</i> . 1939. |

THE POETRY OF ISAAC WATTS IN HIS IMITATION OF THE PSALMS

THE GENIUS of Isaac Watts is not spread smoothly through his works. It flashes out in a phrase, a verse, or a sequence, and then as suddenly disappears. His was not a fixed and steady light: it comes and goes as fitfully as moonlight from among the clouds. But his genius was of a high order; and, as a poet, it is to be questioned whether he has ever received the recognition he deserved. By all standards he is acclaimed a very great hymn-writer; but he was first a poet: for he was born one.

My concern in this review of his 'Imitation of the Psalms'¹ is solely with his poetry. The writing of good hymns is a specialized art not accessible to the genius of every poet. A hymn must be capable of being sung, and if it is to be of common use, of being sung in an easy and familiar metre, it must pay respect to convention, and cannot venture far beyond the thought and language of ordinary folk; and its themes are limited to those of Christian belief. No one was more aware of these limitations than Watts, who deliberately clipped his wings and often sacrificed his poetry to his piety.

If the verse appears so gentle and flowing as to incur the censure of feebleness I may honestly affirm that sometimes it cost me labour to make it so: some of the beauties of poetry are neglected, and some wilfully defac'd.

So he wrote in one of his prefaces.

Allowing for this and the more peculiar restraints laid upon anyone who would attempt to re-write the Psalms in common hymn-metres and in manner as though 'David were a Christian', one wonders not so much at the many times he fails but at the many times he succeeds. I do not propose to say anything about those verses which have so incomparably enriched our *Methodist Hymn-book*: they are well-known and cannot have escaped the eye of anyone who is a lover of poetry. I shall rather confine myself to somewhat less-known material. In passing, however, it might be remarked that eighteen hymns in our present book (and what hymns they are!) come from this source, including among them such mighty ones as, 'O God, our help in ages past'² and 'I'll praise my Maker while I've breath',³ of which the excellence of the poetry cannot fail to impress Wesley's 'men of taste' ('the only competent judges') or the excellence of their devotion his 'persons of real judgement', the discerning Christians.

To the voice of Nature Watts was never deaf, even if he was more accustomed to listening to it in the lordly gardens of Theobalds or Stoke Newington than in the wilds. Pervading his verse there is always a faint air of the century to which he belonged; but whether it is the seventeenth or the eighteenth century is harder to determine. He belonged to both as his dates (1674-1748) plainly show. It might be Nature refined by the art of man which he surveyed in the

¹ *The Psalms of David imitated in the Language of the New Testament and applied to the Christian State and Worship* (1776).

² No. 878.

³ No. 428.

garden-house where many of his hymns were written, but the simple beauty of morning or evening was miracle enough to put Isaac Watts upon his knees:

*From the first dawning Light,
Till the dark Ev'ning rise,
For thy Salvation, Lord, I wait
With ever-longing Eyes.**

There is virtue in that second line. It lingers in the mind. Compare also a verse from another Psalm in which the Psalmist spoke directly to Watts's own need: the sleepless, weary nights of which, in his years of illness, he had many; and notice that it is in those passages of the Psalms which answer to his own spiritual experience that he finds his pen most easily writing poetry:

*Sorrow and Pain wear out my Days;
I waste the Night with Cries;
Counting the Minutes as they pass
Till the slow Morning rise.⁵*

He watches from his retreat the procession of the seasons. (Note the chaste use of adjectives and the smoothness of the verse):

*His steady Counsels change the Face
Of the declining Year;
He bids the Sun cut short his Race
And wint'ry Days appear.⁶*

He looks up at 'the starry curtains of the sky', 'the changing wind, the flying cloud':

*The Heav'ns are for his Curtains spread,
Th' unfathomed Deep he makes his Bed:
Clouds are his Chariot, when he flies
On wing'd Storms across the Skies.⁷*

The second couplet is surely not unworthy of Milton, and confirms Watts's poetical ancestry from the seventeenth century. But the glory of God extends farther than the firmament:

*Thy Glory spreads beyond the Sky,
And all my Praise exceeds.⁸*

How typical this of the spaciousness of the mind of Watts and the vastness of his vision! The majesty of God, inherent in his poetry, because acknowledged in his soul, is the best corrective we have to devotional verse of a later age which, lacking it, abounds in sentimentality and breathes unhealthiness. Watts is bracing. If there is not the emotional suspense of revivalism and therefore its appeal, there are the clean winds of God blowing over his pages and the keen air of the high places:

* Psalm No. 25.

⁵ No. 6.

⁶ No. 147.

⁷ No. 104.

⁸ No. 71.

*The Lord proclaims his Pow'r aloud,
Over the Ocean and the Land;
His Voice divides the wat'ry Cloud,
And Lightnings blaze at his Command.*

*He speaks, and Tempest, Hail, and Wind,
Lay the wide Forest bare around;
The fearful Hart, and frighted Hind,
Leap at the Terror of the Sound.*

*To Lebanon he turns his Voice,
And lo, the stately Cedars break;
The Mountains tremble at the Noise,
The Valleys roar, the Deserts quake.*

*The Lord sits Sov'reign on the Flood;
The Thund'rer reigns for ever King;
But makes his Church his blest Abode,
Where we his awful Glories sing.*

*In gentler Language there, the Lord
The Counsels of his Grace imparts;
Amidst the raging Storm, his Word
Speaks Peace and Courage to our Hearts.**

'Lay the wide Forest bare around' is a happy transcription of 'discovereth the forests' of the Authorized Version. This spacious mind of Watts makes the forest a wide one. The Psalm is also interesting in revealing the poet at work. He safely restrained his Muse through the first two verses until he came to the words 'the voice of the Lord is upon the waters'. Then the Muse got out of hand at the sound of such enchanting words, and the soul of the poet was free. Similarly the 93rd Psalm liberates the poet in Watts:

*In vain the Storms, in vain the Floods arise,
And roar, and toss their Waves against the Skies:
Foaming at Heav'n they rage with wild Commotion,
But Heav'n's high Arches scorn the swelling Ocean.*

In this Psalm he employs a metre, as second choice, which he rarely used, that of the Old 50th in the Metrical Psalms. It ought perhaps to be remarked that for the convenience of congregations (rather than for his own pleasure, we suppose) he usually attempted each Psalm he imitated in more than one metre, which makes some pages of the book a little tedious to read because of their repetition. Reference to the Metrical Psalms leads to the remark that I have failed to find any dependence of Watts upon them.

God is a deliverer. This is the noble theme of many of the Psalms and congenial to the mind of Watts. Who does not exult to hear such words as these taken from the 18th Psalm?:

* Psalm No. 29.

*With Speed he flew to my Relief,
As on a Cherub's Wing he rode;
Awful and bright as Lightning shone
The Face of my Deliv'rer, God.*

How superb they are! As brilliant as the lightning. Feel their subtle rhythm, their nervous intensity, their tremendous climax. But not only does God deliver, He avenges. We may wonder at times whether 'David as a Christian' could have been more at home with the theme of vengeance than Watts himself, who in no way shrank from the contemplation of an avenging God. He appears to enjoy such contemplation and perhaps even a little maliciously. Thomas Wright in his *Life of Isaac Watts* makes frequent reference to the surprising venom which lurked in the poet's tongue, proceeding from 'an excess of sharp juices mingled with his blood'. However this may stand in the opinion of those who have penetrated the deepest to the heart of this amazing man, one can forgive much for the recompense of such lines as these from his version of the 35th Psalm:

*Now plead my Cause, Almighty God,
With all the Sons of Strife;
And fight against the Men of Blood,
Who fight against my Life.*

*Draw out thy Spear, and stop their Way,
Lift thine avenging Rod;
But to my Soul in Mercy say,
'I am thy Saviour God'.*

*They love the Road that leads to Hell;
Then let the Rebels die,
Whose Malice is implacable
Against the Lord on High.*

*But if thou hast a chosen Few
Amongst that impious Race,
Divide them from the bloody Crew
By thy surprising Grace.*

I make no comment either on the venom or the Calvinism of these verses; but I am bound to say that here is the strength and vigour of English verse as few have been able to write it. Very similar in its effect is the sudden, flame-like glory of the middle verses of the first part of Psalm 18 in common metre:

*When God our Leader shines in Arms,
What mortal Heart can bear
The Thunder of his loud Alarms?
The Lightning of his Spear?*

*He rides upon the wing'd Wind,
And Angels in array
In Millions wait to know his Mind
And swift as Flames obey.*

*He speaks, and at his fierce Rebuke
Whole Armies are dismay'd;
His Voice, his Frown, his angry Look,
Strikes all their Courage dead.*

The characteristic form of Hebrew poetry with its balanced lines became naturally his own. He added to it a skilful use of repetition in the second line:

*There Persia, glorious to behold,
There India, shines in Eastern Gold.¹⁰*

or again:

*And now no other God we own,
No other God adore.¹¹*

Yet more ingeniously:

*Thou mak'st the sleeping Billows roll,
The rolling Billows sleep.¹²*

But he is able to break what otherwise might be the monotony of Hebraic lines by various devices, as in the striking chiasmus in the first line of this verse:

*He call'd for Darkness, Darkness came
Like an o'erwhelming Flood;
He turn'd each Lake and every Stream
To Lakes and Streams of Blood.¹³*

A man who was as often ill as Watts had time and occasion to contemplate death and ask the question:

*Who can secure his vital Breath
Against the bold Demand of Death?¹⁴*

From the age of 38 he was a sick man. He had begun the Psalms in 1710 in his rooms at Mr. Hollis's and then at Mr. Bowes's. But he had not made much progress when, in the autumn of 1712, came the breakdown which lasted more than a year and led to his invitation to Sir Thomas Abney's mansion (erected in the park at Theobalds—a former hunting lodge of James the First) to stay a week to recuperate. It was his destiny never to leave the shelter of that hospitable family again. The week slowly lengthened to the period of his years. When the family moved to Stoke Newington in 1736 Watts moved with them, where he died twelve years later. True to his nature as poet and philosopher death was a speculation; but the promises of God were sure, a light in the darkness:

*The Land of Silence and of Death
Attends my next Remove;
O! may these poor Remains of Breath
Teach the wide World thy Love!¹⁵*

¹⁰ Psalm No. 72.

¹¹ No. 105.

¹² No. 74.

¹³ No. 89.

¹⁴ No. 89.

¹⁵ No. 71.

or, as he makes David say in Psalm 30:

*Who but a God can speak and save,
From the dark Borders of the Grave?*

Note those words 'dark Borders'. Watts did not get those from the Psalmist. It is in such phrases, scattered somewhat unevenly over the pages, that one observes the ease with which he could be a poet when he was under no necessity of not being one. Is it not worth reading through many inferior lines to have the joy of coming upon this?:

*Deep in our Hearts let us record
The deeper Sorrows of our Lord.¹⁶*

or:

*He shakes the Heav'ns with loud Alarms;
How terrible is God in Arms!¹⁷*

or:

*The Tumults of my Thought
Held me in hard Suspense.¹⁸*

It is usually considered a major defect in Watts that his verse is often quaint or even grotesque. There are lines which amply justify this charge. But he is not more so (we should say far less so) than most other great poets who sprang from the seventeenth century; and whoever cannot enjoy such infelicities as these is lacking in humour:

*Behold! the Love, the gen'rous Love,
That holy David shows;
Hark how his sounding Bowels move,
To his afflicted Foes!¹⁹*

or, even worse:

*He in the Time of gen'ral Grief,
Shall find the Lord has Bowels too.²⁰*

Rather delightful, if quaint, is his couplet:

*He gives me sweet Advice by Day,
And gentle Hints by night.²¹*

One is inclined to think that Watts was not a safe critic of his own work and that his ear was not always sensitive to the sound of words. Otherwise he would not have written:

Tame Heifers there their Thirst allay.²²

It is in the matter of rhyming that he was unpardonably inexact. False rhymes are recklessly strewn over the pages; and it is obvious that he was

¹⁶ Psalm No. 69.

¹⁷ No. 68.

¹⁸ No. 73.

¹⁹ No. 35.

²⁰ No. 41.

²¹ No. 16.

²² No. 104.

little concerned by them, even the most impudent ones. But one wonders whether he smiled to himself over this effort:

*There dwells the huge Leviathan
And foams and sports in spite of man.*²³

But why dwell on these defects? Are they not a testimony to the sacrifice Watts made? It lay within the scope of his genius to have added his name to the select list of the greatest English poets, had he devoted his heart and his time to this end. Careful of his reputation he could have destroyed the poorer verse and polished what remained. As it was, he had but one purpose: to write hymns that might be sung by all, and in the singing of them, God be praised. Devoted to this end he toiled on through years of weakness and weariness, and as there was but one theme of his thoughts so was there of his verse:

*I dwell in Darkness and unseen;
My Heart is desolate within;
My Thoughts in musing Silence trace
The ancient Wonders of thy Grace.*²⁴

L. W. HAYES

²³ Psalm No. 104.

²⁴ No. 143.

TOMLINSON OF MYSORE

PART ONE

WILLIAM ERNEST TOMLINSON was born at Hankow in 1877 and died in Mysore City, South India, in August 1944. His father, the Rev. W. S. Tomlinson, was a Wesleyan missionary in China for a brief period of eight years, and was described as an effective preacher in Mandarin. Tomlinson's dedication of his life to Christ and the call to go as a missionary to China came early, and when he entered Didsbury College, Manchester, in 1897 he was only twenty years of age.

Those who knew him at college felt that nature and grace had combined to form a character of exceptional beauty and strength. He was critical but not censorious, serious but always bright, pious without being pietistic, a scholar without pedantry. He had a great love of life and flung himself with a tremendous zest into whatever he was doing as though that were for the moment (as indeed it was) the only thing worth while. Without official appointment he came to be looked upon as the natural leader of a Saturday morning prayer meeting where his extempore prayers were exceptionally beautiful in form and spirit. The apt use he made of fresh and unhackneyed Scripture sentences is remembered by those who were at College with him, and to some his life has shone like a beacon through the years.

He was also remembered as a great sportsman who excelled in every game he played, especially as a brilliant centre-forward, a stylish batsman, and a fine tennis player. It was while playing tennis in Mysore one evening that his heart gave way, and he died as the clocks of the town were striking ten. He played football in India until after his fiftieth year, and there is a description of him leading a team of his theological students against a more experienced team—playing centre-forward. How well he led the attack! He kept those forwards well up and together so that they were always pressing on toward the goal—a description that illustrates so much of what he did for the Kingdom of God in India. He so often led the attack and kept the younger men well up and together, pressing on the goal of their high calling in Christ.

Even on the cricket field one can tell what a man is made of, and those who played against him at college marked the thoroughness and determination that characterized all his after-life. To get his wicket was to remove a menace; and the same spirit of forthrightness and determination to conquer or die in the attempt showed itself in his attack on the Kanarese language no less than upon the fortress of Hinduism, for it so happened that he was not designated to China but to the Mysore district of South India, and he was to apply himself not to Mandarin, but to a Dravidian language which is now more correctly known as *Kannada*. It was, for the moment, a bitter disappointment, but without any hesitation he loyally accepted the decision which had been made for him, and arrived in the Mysore State in 1900.

There was about Tomlinson something of the fighter, and there were many circumstances connected with the Wesleyan Mission in Mysore State which served to put such a man upon his mettle. Not many years before, one of the missionary giants who dwelt in that land, the Rev. G. W. Sawday, had declared

at a Breakfast Meeting: 'I am proud, Sir, not merely of being an Indian missionary, but also of being a Mysore missionary.'¹ He mentioned two reasons for his pride. One was the unique position held by the Mission in the native state of Mysore. The other was the band of men with whom he was working.

When the Kingdom of Tipu Sultan was overthrown in 1799, the Mysore territory was restored to the Hindu dynasty to which it belonged before the usurpation by Tipu's father, Haider Ali. Although the first missionaries appeared on the scene in the eighteen-twenties, it was not until after the deposition of the Rajah in 1831, and the assumption of the administration by a British Commission, that the work of the Mission in the towns and villages was commenced. There can be no doubt that the missionaries availed themselves of the sound administration and the help, given by some godly officers of the Commission, to acquire sites and to establish work in the important towns and villages. At the same time they proved good friends of the royal family and, when the administration was once more restored to a young Maharajah and his Government in 1881, it was apparent that many of the Indian officials had received their education from the missionaries, and the gradual development of Mysore from an oriental despotism to a limited monarchy, a democracy in embryo and a model state, was a source of considerable gratification to them. 'There is a whisper in the hearts of men in the Mysore country, a secret which pride will not now allow them to divulge, and that secret is the name of Jesus.'² That was how the historian of the society expressed it.

The second source of Mr. Sawday's pride was in the band of missionaries with whom he was working. He could not of course have foreseen that he and three of this 'devoted, earnest . . . compact, loving brotherhood' would still be active Mysore missionaries fifty years after their first arrival in that land. When Tomlinson reached Mysore, the Rev. J. A. Vanes was the Chairman of the District. Since the Mission began there had been only two other chairmen. Among the senior men were D. A. Rees and H. Gulliford. Dr. Henry Haigh, chief reviser of the Kanarese Bible, editor and founder of a Kanarese newspaper (the *Vrittanta Patrike*), an authority on Hinduism, and a President of the Conference, was just ending his term of service in India. W. W. Holdsworth, the New Testament scholar and missionary historian, was his first Superintendent in Mysore. Among the younger men to inspire him were E. W. Redfern, E. W. Thompson, and W. H. Thorp.

It was to Redfern, living in Hassan, that Tomlinson was sent to start Kanarese. His introduction to this language was memorable. To reach Hassan he had to get down from the train in the night and do twenty-six miles by bullock cart. When he arrived in the morning, Redfern welcomed him and, before he had had a bath or breakfast, mentioned that his *munshi* was already waiting for him—'and mind you! You've got to get Kanarese. We don't want any failures in this District.' We have no record of how he proceeded to get Kanarese, but we do know that habits of hard work throughout his life were so firmly established that they often took precedence of the clock, meals, and bedtime. His complete mastery of the language, its prose and

¹ *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (1887), p. 69.

² Findlay and Holdsworth, Vol. V, p. 310.

poetry, the writing and speaking thereof, was the foundation of his effectiveness as a preacher and teacher.

Actually he had to learn the language under what are now regarded as the most unfavourable conditions. His first two years were spent in charge of the Mysore High School, in which he taught English subjects many hours a week, and was expected to converse with his pupils only in this language. And it must have been in English that he began to tell to those high-caste Hindu boys the full story of the last days of our Saviour, and realized how powerful it was to quicken interest and arouse sympathy instead of the indifference and contempt which sometimes made the teaching of Scripture doubly hard. In 1903 he went to the Bangalore Kanarese Circuit as Chairman's assistant, and there he started to go round the villages with the Indian minister and evangelist, visiting markets and fairs, and preaching with them in schoolrooms.

A great deal will be said about Tomlinson's preaching. In fact the main interest of his life for those who have followed him centres in his frontal assault upon the fortress of Hinduism by means of preaching. From Elijah Hoole and William Arthur onward the Mysore missionaries were devoted, as indeed they should be, to preaching. At first they would laboriously compose their sermons and read them in public places. Even though William Arthur was said to have been able, during his short career as a missionary, to preach in a felicitous and extemporaneous manner, there can be no doubt that it was perhaps the novel sight of a white face and black hat which would attract crowds. On the other hand their barbarous accents, faulty constructions, and blasphemous attacks upon the gods of wood and stone, would repel others. Their sermons were demonstrations of the falsity of the *śāstras*, the uselessness of bathing in sacred waters and going to sacred places. While we read of crowds of seriously interested people, we also read of missionaries being hooted through the streets after an unsatisfactory encounter with a Brahman.

It was only after improved translations of the Bible had extended the theological vocabulary of the preachers (producing what is known as *pādre* Kanarese) that some sort of exposition of the stories and events recorded in the Four Gospels became possible; and also the setting forth of the way of salvation and, as good Methodists, the sharing of this experience which came through faith in Jesus. In other words (in the second half of the nineteenth century) they were able to preach the Gospel. But here their difficulties were just beginning. Had not Dr. Henry Haigh exposed to a crowded Exeter Hall meeting in 1896 the fallacy of preaching the simple Gospel to Hindus?³ Any talk of a personal God, a holy God, human responsibility and consciousness immediately touched not only the philosophy of the Hindus but their mythologies, indeed their essential pantheism and their doctrine of *karma*.

Tomlinson was to learn this one night in an ill-lit schoolroom in Bangalore City. He was, with what he confessed to be some violence to the Kanarese language, witnessing to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ and eagerly pressing his pointed appeal for repentance. A small unattractive shopkeeper flashed forth this protest—"Who am I and who are you?" To the young missionary this seemed an irrelevant question, and it was not until it had been taken up by the Indian evangelist that he saw he was face to face with what

³ *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (1896), p. 88.

divides Christian thought and morality from the religious thought of the Hindus.

It is important for us clearly to appreciate this situation, which Dr. Haigh expounded in his Exeter Hall speech.

In preaching the Gospel to the Hindu we must always remember that Pantheism is at the bottom of all his thinking, and we must begin with this profound lesson: 'God is God, and you are you; He is one person, you another person.' . . . Then, once the separate personality of God and the separate personality of man have dawned upon his horizon, you must begin to clothe that personal God with moral attributes; . . . that He is holy, and just and good, externally separate from the inhumanities of custom, from the impurities of mythology, and from the cruel partialities of caste. Then the way is open for you to set up a standard of moral judgement . . . it becomes possible to drive him to a sense of sin and perchance the need of a Saviour. . . . You have got to tell him why, if he needs a Saviour, Christ must be that Saviour, and not some other; . . . How he transcends all others, and how he ought to be accepted even though He is not of that man's caste or even of his country.⁴

This is just what Tomlinson set himself to do, and before we consider the important years in which he was to fling himself into the fray in an attempt to evangelize large village areas in the new circuit to which he was appointed, it is as well to remind ourselves of the prevalent optimism in the Mysore Mission. The Synod of 1904, for instance, is described in the history of the Society as 'in some respects, the most remarkable in the history of the Mysore Mission. Far-reaching schemes were brought forward. . . . They were the efflorescence of a vitality inherent in the Church. . . . The fact is that the leaven was now reaching out to an indefinite enlargement in the area of its influence'.⁵

In 1904 Tomlinson married Miss Dorothea Vickers, a lady-worker of the same mission, and for the next four years (1905-9), until his first furlough in England, was superintendent of large country circuits with his own staff of evangelists. These were years of practice and preparation for the even more intensive evangelistic work which lay ahead. It was during these years that he began to keep a diary of such activities, to write circular letters to his friends, and to contribute to the *Foreign Field*. In one of these articles he confessed his fault in spending £10 which he did not possess so as to provide himself with camp equipment. His confession was not in vain for the next number of *F.F.* gratefully acknowledged £10 10s. 6d.: 'for the Rev. W.E.T.'s camp outfit.' In after years much time had to be spent in writing letters in order to liquidate the debts which he had incurred as a result of his many schemes.

It was during the autumn of 1906 that he set out from Tumkur with two evangelists and a young schoolmaster whose zeal and stamina matched his own, K. Shadrach, G. George, and Abednego Manuel. (Together with G. Joseph, these three men later constituted the first District Evangelist's Band in 1911.) They were joined by Edgar W. Thompson, and to work with him was another step in Tomlinson's education. The tour lasted fourteen

⁴ *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (1896), p. 88.

⁵ Findlay and Holdsworth, Vol. V, pp. 304-6.

days and was run on entirely orthodox lines—the visits to villages far and near, the gruelling walks and cycle rides, and the magic lantern services far into the night. Like so many missionaries he was thrilled to see large groups of people sitting out in the open looking at the beautiful slides of the life of Christ and drinking in the clear and concise story of a skilful preacher, in this case E. W. Thompson, and he wrote: 'Particularly quiet and respectful was their attention to the story of the Agony, Death, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Lord. It was a night to be remembered and to thank God for.'

This tour was followed up by several others, including visits to *jātres*. A *jātre*, let it be said, is a concourse of village people who in an apparently mysterious way gather in certain places when the harvest work is finished. Cattle are bought and sold, marriages have to be arranged. Offerings are made and vows performed at the temple, and all hands join to pull the idol car. The nights are fine and warm and the people camp with their carts for several days. These religious-cum-cattle fairs fulfil something of the function of Hampstead Heath, Southend, or Blackpool for the Indian villager. When at one of them, Tomlinson was in his element. 'I enjoy a *jātre* as an Irishman loves a row', he wrote. On one occasion he was amused to find himself describing a magic lantern picture with clenched hands, eyes shut, head back, literally bawling at the audience. This was scarcely surprising as at the back of him was the drink shop, in the front the temple car, fifty yards away a merry-go-round with band, and beyond that a dancing party with shrieking musical accompaniment. Nevertheless, Tomlinson held his audience for an hour.

He tells of his less orthodox methods in the villages and reports how on one occasion he visited a village alone, and being unable to attract much attention he persuaded a cowherd to mount his bicycle. He wheeled him round the village, first in terror, but very soon in delight. When he had to remove several thorns from his tyre, he used this as an illustration of the sins of St. Mark (Chapter 7), which rob us of life even as the thorns rob the tyre of wind. He kept a most careful record of the Gospels sold and the villages visited, but had regretfully to admit: 'We returned without being certified of a single convert.'

It is worth while emphasizing here that they made their appeal to the caste Hindus of the villages. As regards the educated Hindus of the towns, the idea seemed to have grown up and was vividly expressed by a popular preacher of the last century that 'The terrible artillery of Western science has brought the most venerable and gigantic system of heathenism to the dust. The Myriads of Hinduism have been thrown into confusion by a terrible shower of shot and shell from our secular school'.⁶ Even a more cautious speaker, Dr. Haigh, described the relation of educated men to Hinduism as one of 'scornful accommodation. They cannot believe the doctrines of Hinduism after the training they have had'.⁷

As regards the outcastes, we find strangely little reference to them in the record of these early tours. In this apparent concentration upon the caste Hindus of the villages, Tomlinson was following what had become a Mysore

⁶ Hugh Price Hughes, *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (1882), p. 178.

⁷ *ibid.* (1886), p. 35.

tradition. One of the missionary secretaries, W. H. Findlay, after his visit to the Mysore District in 1905, observed that

low castes, to whom in Hyderabad we devote all our strength, are found in scanty numbers in Mysore, where our business is with the caste population, sturdy, conservative peasant farmers. . . . The steadily pursued aim of District policy has been to spread through this mass of caste Hinduism the leavening influence of Christian education and Christian literature while at the same time seeking a hearing, as far as might be, for the direct appeal of the Gospel.^a

Actually 'untouchables' are found in considerable numerical strength throughout Mysore, but compared with other parts of Southern India are less down-trodden and more independent. But it was not so generally realized that a successful movement among the outcastes was also a medium through which the leavening influence of Christianity could reach and penetrate an Indian village. In fact there had been only scant signs of any community movement, whether among caste or outcaste, in the Mysore villages.

It fell, however, to Tomlinson to follow up and endeavour to extend a movement among caste people when in 1908 he was appointed to Shimoga, the most remote station of the Mysore Mission. It lay 170 miles from Bangalore, and although the country to the north and east was not unlike the country which he had so often covered around Tumkur, and he was able to take preaching bands and do valiant work at several *jātres*, in the south and west it was of a very different character. The road which ran to the edge of the Mysore plateau and down the Ghats to the west coast of India passed through beautiful but unhealthy wooded country, and the dwindling population dwelt in scattered hamlets in the jungle. It was among the principal land-owners and farmers, the *Nāmadhāris*, that strange things had been taking place. A reformer named Giriappa had seen this people worn down by disease and sinking deeper and deeper into drunkenness and superstition. He heard a Gospel preacher at Shimoga, bought a bible, and sent an appeal to the Mission. While he delayed accepting baptism, his friend Chennappa became a Christian in 1905. Soon after Giriappa died, but it was not till many years after that the Mission gave up its efforts to win these people. It was hoped that Tomlinson's earnestness and experience would be decisive. He cycled prodigious distances, spent days in seeking out the homes of everybody who had been connected with Giriappa and his movement, preaching, arguing, and pleading. 'I hope we may not tire', he said, and at the end of his diary for the year wrote: 'The feature of this tour has been the applicability of the Gospel truth to every Hindu doctrine we were met with.' But all he had to record was one unsatisfactory baptism.

It should be mentioned that for the future development of this work he secured an excellent house at Tirthanalli and built another at Mandagadde. It would be a mistake to suppose that his zeal for evangelism caused the neglect of any other of the duties of a missionary. In the care of the Christian congregations, the keeping of accounts and records he was, as in everything else he did, accurate and conscientious. We have now reached the end of his first term of service in India and it is best to jump over a year of furlough,

^a Findlay and Holdsworth, Vol. V, p. 211.

and another year in the Mysore High School, and to describe how he became District Evangelist in 1911.

Tomlinson made his first camp as District Evangelist, with his newly appointed band, in a village about forty miles south of Mysore during the hot weather of 1911. His advocacy of this work in England had been so effective that £300 per annum had been guaranteed for a period of five years to help to support his band. The District Synod appointed the four men who had worked with him at Tumkur. The tents were mostly new and, spread in a grove of trees, made a fine sight. Tomlinson was usually clad in a neat suit and clerical collar and wore a large-size pig-sticker topi. The evangelists wore longish coats which buttoned at the neck, white *dhōtis*, and turbans. Not far away were the houses of some new Christians of outcaste origin, baptized fairly recently by G. W. Sawday, for in 1908 the long-awaited community movement among the outcaste people had really begun.

Sawday arrived in India in 1876 and in 1944, at the age of ninety, he passed away three weeks after Tomlinson. Perhaps the greatest of the Mysore missionaries, his life-work stands in strong contrast to that of Tomlinson. He did not, in his preaching and teaching, deal with the great issues of thought which lie between the Christian religion and Hinduism. Sawday's concern was with people and all the circumstances of their bodies and souls, and while men like Tomlinson rained shot and shell upon the entrenched positions of Hinduism, Sawday exercised a different strategy. The first time was in the general distress of the great famine of 1876-8, when he rescued many orphaned and starving children. Many of these became teachers, evangelists, and ministers. What happened after the first baptisms at Kastur in 1908 helped Sawday to realize how, in the Mysore State, economic pressure exerted by the landlords and moneylenders had checked and suppressed any movement into the Christian Church. He generously and shrewdly tackled this problem and in many ways helped those whom he was leading out of the cruel bondage of untouchability.

While Tomlinson was working in this area his diary makes it clear that he was batting on rather a difficult wicket. In the first place the caste people were far less friendly. It was not only because they viewed with alarm this movement among those whom they regarded as their bond-slaves. The Christian preachers were camping close to the outcaste quarters and this lowered Tomlinson in their esteem. In the second place the loaves and fishes which Sawday had distributed made the multitudes dull of heart to apprehend spiritual food, even as it did in the days of our Lord. Tomlinson was distressed to find how few genuine inquirers there were.

He used to write letters to the superintendents of the circuits in which he had been travelling making various suggestions. With Sawday he raised the question of the ignorance of the new Christians. The outcome of this was that his subsequent and frequent visits to the new Christian villages were largely devoted to careful instruction and examinations based on a scheme successfully evolved by the Rev. C. W. Posnett for the new Christians in the Hyderabad State. Thus in following years Tomlinson would be found among small groups of villagers, at night after they had returned from their field work. With great patience and clearness he would give instruction which is

remembered today by hundreds of semi-literates to whom his teaching was the groundwork of their faith.

It must be said that Tomlinson's band was used by other missionaries in the hope that it would quicken other movements which had become unfruitful. His second camp was a vain attempt to contact relapsed converts from a gipsy tribe and non-existent inquirers. They had returned to remote gipsy camps and had been received back into their caste. For nearly three weeks Tomlinson followed them to these places. He found twice as many back-slidden Koramas as he found in the Church. In another part of the State a family or two of outcastes had been baptized. But the failure to release them at once from their economic slavery had produced suspicion and discontent. He found his visits received with positive rudeness, but with characteristic generosity he begged £100 from a friend in England so that a co-operative society could be started. Many weeks were also spent in his old circuit at Shimoga, trying to rekindle the flame which had burnt very low among the *Nāmadhāris*. But after 150 days of ding-dong house-to-house visiting and frank talks, the situation showed no improvement.

N. CARR SARGANT

(To be concluded)

Notes and Discussions

THE GRAND INDICTMENT

THIS IS THE great trial of the Western World. Already we have begun to hear the voices of those who deny that 'Western Culture' has any historical reality, just at the very time when we have overcome the aggressive philosophy of those who derided and berated the position and responsibility of the scholar and intellectual in the world of affairs. It is important at this very time to perceive these things, since the strongholds of the intellectuals are due for great expansion, and, unless they are aware of the issues involved, they might find themselves obedient producers of yet more technologists, either philological or purely technical, with the disastrous results of which we are already aware. For, owing to the demand for trained men, new university colleges, in places like Stoke-on-Trent no less than York and Canterbury, are planned, against which even the existing universities will seem homes of tradition. It is these newer university colleges that will have to set the example of the twentieth century, just as the established provincial universities set it fifty years ago.

Why is the existing tradition unsatisfactory? Well, the period between the wars has been filled with what we might call the 'grand indictment' of our university system in the Western World. Its excessive devotion to research, a legacy of the foundation of the University of Berlin in 1809, is not altogether a good thing. It often leads to sterile study on the part of junior teachers. But what is more dangerous, it loses sight of the prime function of the scholar, which is his responsibility to the world at large. Julian Benda likened it to that of the medieval priest, and he declared that the scholars had betrayed their trust. In his *Trahison des Clercs* (1927) he declared that their inheritance of knowledge was being frittered away, and their responsibility of inspiring the national, cultural, and spiritual tradition of the race had been neglected. They had sold themselves to the forces of self-interest which dominate the world, and therein lay their treason. But Benda posed the question as to whether the university itself did not contribute to this grand betrayal.

We have heard much the same thing from other countries. From America, Walter Kotschnigg, studying the causes of *Unemployment in the Learned Professions* (1937), came to the conclusion that university graduates were literally unemployable in many cases because of the education which they had received, which was insufficient to enlarge their experiential and emotional background. This basic question of curriculum was demanding an answer before any scheme of occupational planning was undertaken. In our own country and times, Bruce Truscott, in *Redbrick and these Vital Days*, has demanded that the university teacher has an obligation to write more and to teach more to the outer world, and his conception of research is humane enough to admit of research itself being a synthetic process.

But perhaps the most challenging solution has come from Spain, which, though lying on the periphery of Western Europe, nevertheless saw the beginnings of the great struggle that culminated in World War II. There, Ortega y Gasset, with that clarity of insight afforded to both a professional

philosopher and a man of action (for Ortega y Gasset was both Professor of Philosophy at Madrid and a newspaper editor), saw that the real responsibility for all the trouble lay with the universities. For him they exist as 'the embodiment of the Western Man's determination to live according to his intellect'. But the intellectual had been too frivolous and irresponsible, and this he denounced as 'a factor of the first magnitude among the causes of the present disorder'. For the university, declared Ortega y Gasset, can effectively maintain its hold on the minds of men by two processes. The first is to be continually synthesizing the best of our culture, the second, to make this synthesis the basis of enlightened living, and an influence for good throughout all the specialized forms of modern life. The tendency toward a university dominated by research is disastrous, he declared, for it has led to the elimination of culture, its prime concern.

It is the definition of 'culture' that is interesting to us. The word is another name for intellectual discipline, without which Europe cannot be saved. Culture is 'the height of the ideas of the contemporary world' and the faculty of culture (which Ortega y Gasset would make the nucleus of his university and of the whole of higher learning) should keep men at the level of these ideas, both while they are at the university and when they go out in the world. The idea, it may be argued, is not new, that the English universities have been doing it since the time of Professor Stuart in the seventies, and that the new People's Colleges of the 1944 Act are the legislative fruits of such work. But, English-like, the development has been empiric. For a philosophy of the university it is coming into its own, and Ortega y Gasset may yet be hailed as one of the most stimulating thinkers to be produced in our time.

W. H. G. ARMYTAGE

AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CHURCH REFORMER

'HAVE YOU ever', wrote the ex-Jesuit, George Tyrrell, 'read the life of Scipio Ricci, Bishop of Pistoia? . . . It shows that the cry for reform is perennial, and that Rome has always stifled it by the same methods for the same ends, money and power.' Born in 1741, three years after Wesley's transforming experience, Ricci outlived him by nineteen years. Like Wesley, he was a loyal son of his Church, desiring to recall her to a more evangelical faith and life. Like Wesley, he was spurned by his Church until, in the end, he received a measure of cold comfort in qualified approval. The fascinating story is told in the now rare *Vie et Mémoires de Scipion de Ricci* (1826) which contains invaluable and spicy appendices, in the original Italian in which they were given, first-hand testimony of the disorders with which he had to deal. The reader may follow a career almost contemporary with the Methodist Revival, in which the close parallel between the social and pastoral concern of the Tuscan Bishop and that of the great Methodist Churchman is obvious.

Sent as a boy to the Jesuits, Ricci naturally thought to join the Society, but his family desired to see him a bishop. Studying at Pisa and at ill-fated Monte Cassino, he took orders in 1766, later becoming a canon. Under Jansenist

preceptors he moved away from Jesuit theology, and it need occasion no surprise to find that he published an edition of Racine, who was of the same persuasion as his new guides. He also edited the MSS. of Macchiavelli—'that firstborn of hell', as Wesley somewhat savagely calls him—the last of whose race, a girl, had married into the Ricci stock in 1617. Invited to become a bishop, he at first refused, declaring that he could not do so and 'remain an honest man'! In 1780, however, he was consecrated Bishop of Pistoia and Prato in Tuscany, offering forthwith to set aside sufficient income to found a separate diocese in Prato. His offer was declined. Trouble met him before he set foot in his see: a canon was in gaol for theft. Worse followed. His first episcopal task was to discipline a nunnery whose inmates were infamed for gross misconduct with their confessors. At the other end of the diocese, in Prato, things were equally bad. Here his resolute measures enraged the transgressors. Determined opposition from high quarters only resulted in fuller revelation of disorder and graver public scandal.

Rome now thought fit to intervene. Ricci appealed to the Grand Duke Leopold of Tuscany, who threatened to carry out the reforms himself if the Pope did not support the bishop. Meanwhile Ricci set out upon his first Visitation. Backed by the enlightened Leopold, he strove to deliver the simple peasants of the Apennine highlands from the yoke of clerical bondage. The Grand Duke built roads in those almost inaccessible regions, while the bishop advised him in the erection of necessary churches. Everywhere Ricci introduced salutary discipline where neglect or licence had prevailed. Like Wesley, he was scorned for his pains and caricatured. Enemies accused him of 'not believing in the Pope', as if, said Ricci, 'this new article had been the hallmark of Catholicism'. As in England, it was evident that there were ecclesiastics who did not know the standards of their own communion. Nor was this all. The bishop was specially anxious for sound preaching in his churches. Special preachers, as sometimes happens, thought unduly of their fees. Some of them toured the countryside with 'inherited' or pirated sermons; others made by their antics a mockery of the pulpit. For the instruction of the people in morals and doctrine, Ricci issued a catechism of his own—another parallel with Wesley's aims and methods. And all this raised the question of ministerial training. A theological institution was set up and endowed from the funds of a scandalous monastery suppressed by Leopold. Examination had shown that while there were 'heaps of playing cards', the library had fewer than 100 volumes, and lacked a complete copy of the Scriptures. These defects were remedied by the appointment of an able professor of theology. The clergy received an episcopal injunction ordering them to attend courses of moral theology, with beneficial results. In another monastery Ricci had difficulty in finding the key to the library. When at last he gained access 'the spiders' webs which hung from the ceiling and swept my face gave me to see clearly that this room never received the residents'! No wonder that ignorance followed hard on idleness, and that, while the monks professed a strong belief in papal infallibility, the doctrines of redemption were unknown. With Leopold's approval, Ricci next diverted the immense revenues of the Cathedral Chapter to form a fund for poorer clergy, thereby strengthening the appeal of his reforms.

So drastic a challenge to morals and pockets could not fail to arouse opposition. Large notices appeared on the portals of the Cathedral: 'Pray for our heterodox bishop'!—an astute appeal to the ignorant mob. A price was then set on Ricci's head. Menacing letters poured in. A rascal offered to shoot him for a consideration. Rome joined in the attacks, and libels compared Leopold with Henry the Eighth. Ricci's books were torn up and scattered in the streets. As in Tuscany, so in Staffordshire. Charles Wesley had written in his *Journal* of his tribulations there: 'Christianity flourishes under the Cross. None who follow after Christ want that badge of discipleship. . . . The persecutors are the complainers. It is always the lamb that troubles the waters. . . . Yet we must not call this persecution. Doubtless they will find some other name for it when they do God service by killing us!' There was abundant cause for irony in the eighteenth century in England and in Italy alike. Undeterred, however, Leopold gave Ricci an agent to guard him, and followed this up with a wise move. Dispersing three congregations of wealthy priests on reasonable pensions, he restored to circulation the vast capital left over. With this they set up spinning mills for the poor, thus raising the status of the Pistoians. The bishop divided the city into eight parishes, each with an adequately-paid curé. The result was that clergy and flocks began to see who were their true friends. When Rome fulminated against such disendowment of moribund institutions, Ricci replied that Leopold took nothing for himself, but, on the contrary, had endowed six parishes old and new, and set up hospitals, schools, and endless useful benefactions, such as the education of poor girls and the provision of marriage dowries to give them a fair start in life.

To this religious and humanitarian programme the hierarchy offered ceaseless resistance. Some of their objections are indeed grotesque. It was asserted that education and reform were futile. 'A single bishop or priest who may bless an entire nation from the top of a tower would serve all the needs!' The opposition was so deeply entrenched that not all the reforms could be put through. Enough, however, had been done to set fire to the train, and Ricci's life was attempted. Sounding the tocsin in Prato, the mob tore down the bishop's arms and sedilia, burning them in the square. Torchlight processions were got up for the 'faithful' who thirsted for blood. Leopold acted firmly and made many arrests. In the midst of the tumult Ricci quietly made his way with high courage on foot through the mob to attend the Synod he had caused to be revived. It is a measure of his magnanimity that he not only fed the families of arrested persons from his own purse, but interceded for their release. But such evidence of Christian spirit counted for nought with foes whose interests were challenged.

On the death of Joseph the Second in 1790, Leopold became Emperor of Austria. Here was Rome's opportunity. Leopold had published the Acts of Ricci's Synods and they had been reprinted in many lands, even in Spain where it was hoped they might point the way to reform. Medals were struck in honour of Leopold and Ricci in Paris. Rome replied citing Ricci, like Luther, to appear for trial. The new Emperor forbade him to comply, silencing the Vatican with the threat of withdrawing his ambassador. But hardly had Leopold left Italy than revolt broke out. Like Döllinger in Munich eighty years later, Ricci was warned by the magistrates that his life would be

in peril if he walked abroad. All reforms were ruthlessly abolished; every abuse restored. Loyal clergy were subjected to pressure and general rioting fostered. It is good to learn that an English Catholic lady offered money and letters of introduction to Ricci should he wish to flee, but this he stoutly declined to do. While Leopold lived his friend enjoyed a measure of protection. But Rome had not long to wait. Death came to the Emperor in March 1792, unleashing the full pack of Ricci's foes.

An unexpected ally now appeared. Having been invited to advise the French Directory on the *Constitution Civile du Clergé*, Ricci was readily given protection when the forces of the Republic assumed control of Tuscany. Grégoire, head of the French clergy (*assermentis*), had followed the course of the reforms with sympathy, and to his intervention Ricci owed a period of relative quiet. But the strain was breaking him. He became gravely ill at Rignano where, under French protection, he had been able to continue some of his work. Unhappily a change in the political situation gave his foes another chance. Ricci was imprisoned for a time in a cell which, to his comfort, he knew to have been occupied by Savonarola. Perhaps he wondered if a like fate should be his! The new Pope, Pius the Seventh—the liberal-minded Cardinal of Imola—had no wish to see another condemned for reforms which he himself would gladly have effected. He therefore offered Ricci his friendship and support. But the best-intentioned Popes have found they are not their own masters. What little was possible Pius did, managing to hold in check the personal animus of Ricci's antagonists. The end came on 27th January 1810, undoubtedly hastened by the strain, the austerity, and the privations which had been the bishop's lot for so many years. Yet in that hour character and goodness had the final word. In belated acknowledgement of their former bishop's humanitarianism and virtue, crowds visited his body as it lay in state, and paid their tribute to one who had been a generous benefactor, an intrepid protagonist of the truth, and a noble servant of God.

R. DOUGLAS ORD

ON MENDING CHARLES WESLEY

THE DIFFERENCE is obvious between the appropriate length of a hymn as we measure it and as John Wesley did. In the present edition of the *Methodist Hymn-book* the limit preferred seems to be six verses, though occasionally this is exceeded. But of the hymns as arranged in the 1780 edition,¹ four run to a total of at least twenty verses each, an additional thirty-one to a total of at least ten verses each, an additional sixteen to a total of at least nine verses each, an additional seventeen to a total of at least eight long verses each, and an additional thirty-five to a total of at least eight short verses each. All these include eleven deliberately sub-divided into two or more parts, the total verses in any one part being kept below double figures. Two other hymns, themselves reasonably short, have been similarly split. Which tempts one to speculate a little. How exactly did John Wesley use his hymn-book in the leadership of public worship? Merely for abridgement did he select a part from a larger whole and leave the rest, anticipating the modern 'we shall sing

¹ The copy consulted was a fifth reprint, made in 1786.

the first four verses only'? Or, instead of using different hymns at the same meeting, did he sometimes announce in succession the several parts of a long hymn, with prayer and sermon placed between the parts? This latter method would have fitted in well with John Wesley's orderly mind, and with the architectonic skill of many of the hymns concerned. But whatever his procedure, he had much more right than we have to claim that in Methodism 'singing makes so considerable a part of the public service'.

It is idle, of course, to deplore the change in fashion, and the abridgements made in response to it. But it may be of interest to confine attention to Charles Wesley's hymns, and to inquire whether any theological prepossessions unconsciously were operative during the abridging process. The word 'unconsciously' is important. Others have noticed the cuts and changes made deliberately and avowedly on theological grounds. The following examples will be discussed because they seem to show a theological outlook at work unintentionally—if it is not presumptuous to say so—in abridgements made primarily for mere abridgement's sake.

I

Let us look first at our present number 243—*Jesus, the Conqueror, reigns*. The 1780 edition had six verses (double short measure) which in 1904 were reduced to five, and in 1933 to three. This latest and shortest form makes an obviously inspiring hymn—popular at overseas missionary meetings, where it calls up visions of mass movements in India and West Africa. But is it equally applicable to all fields? As we sing, is there not the suggestion that on the whole the world can be won without too much difficulty?

*This is the victory!
Before our faith they fall;
Jesus hath died for you and me;
Believe, and conquer all!*

Perhaps I am finding something that is not there. But on me at least the impression is made that evil will capitulate with scarcely a kick of resistance, that all the Church has to do is to go forth and gather the spoils. 'Toil ye shall have'—that is admitted. But it is not thought necessary to call further attention to the fact. Now let us turn to what Charles Wesley wrote, remembering that it was never blue-pencilled until 1933:

*Through much distress and pain,
Through many a conflict here,
Through blood, ye must the entrance gain;
Yet, O disdain to fear!
Courage! your Captain cries,
Who all your toil foreknew:
Toil ye shall have; yet all despise,
I have o'ercome for you.*

In jettisoning the first four of those lines, we have misrepresented not only Charles Wesley, but also life itself. For the crusade of goodness against evil is no picnic. Evil's resistance is violent, and it is foolish optimism to minimize it.

Theologically the weakness of Jerome K. Jerome's drama, *The Passing of the Third Floor Back*, lies in this same Pelagian attitude. The very presence of virtue—we are allowed to infer—is enough to melt sin in its multiform expressions, as the sun can melt the snow merely by shining on it. But this gospel according to Jerome was altered when the play was adapted for use in the cinema. There evil is displayed as fighting persistently, strenuously, almost victoriously, overcome at the last only by the suffering of goodness. This is not a comfortable teaching, but it is more true both to the Christian Gospel and to human experience. How grimly we have been lately reminded of it.

II

In the next example—number 312 of the present edition—we have reproduced exactly the version our fathers gave us in 1904. It commences,

*Behold the Lamb of God, who bears
The sins of all the world away!*

and is a simple and moving appeal. Jesus is presented to us as saying: 'Come, and I will give you rest.' We are exhorted to believe and to take Him at His word, which presumably ought to be enough for us. The stress is laid on the speech of incarnate God. This version is the result of telescoping two successive hymns of the 1780 edition. There need be no objection to it as unequal yoking. For clearly these two hymns, and a third following immediately afterwards (the great *Would Jesus have the sinner die?*), combine to form one long and self-consistent whole. The general scheme is summarized in two lines of the first verse, which was excluded in 1904:

*His thoughts, and words, and actions prove,
His life and death—that God is love!*

The divine grace is revealed to us, firstly through Jesus' verbal invitation, secondly through His miracles of healing, and finally and chiefly through His Cross. This outline is developed in the remainder of the hymn. Following our fathers, we have kept the first and third revelations, the beginning and the end. But also following our fathers, we have dropped the second, from which two verses may be quoted:

*See where the lame, the halt, the blind,
The deaf, the dumb, the sick, the poor,
Flock to the Friend of human-kind,
And freely all accept their cure:
To whom did he his help deny?
Whom in his days of flesh pass by?*

*Did not his word the fiends expel?
The lepers cleanse, and raise the dead?
Did he not all their sickness heal?
And satisfy their every need?
Did he reject his helpless clay?
Or send them sorrowful away?*

It is easy just here to be guilty of overstatement. The 1904 and the 1933 editions both include hymns by Charles Wesley on our Lord's miracles. But there are only two in the 1933 edition, and they are both placed outside the section entitled 'The Gospel Call'. That is the section where not only part one, but also the whole of this long hymn (in three successive parts, if you like) ought to be found. As it is, we miss the point of Charles Wesley's teaching:

Let the people hear first the Saviour's words of grace. When they do not believe, go further and let them see His deeds of compassion. When still they do not believe, go to the utmost limit, and let them see His supreme self-sacrifice. If they do not believe that, they will believe nothing.

The inference seems fair that for Charles Wesley the miracles had an evidential and evangelistic meaning, to us—and probably to our fathers—much less apparent. How many books during the last fifty years have treated the miracles, not as obstacles to be overcome, but as a creative part of the Gospel itself?

III

We proceed now to the present numbers 325 and 326. The former—*O come, ye sinners, to your Lord*—is a description of the inner feelings that mark Christian experience in the individual soul:

*The seeing eye, the feeling sense,
The mystic joys of penitence;*

*The godly grief,^a the pleasing smart,
The meltings of a broken heart,
The tears that tell your sins forgiven,
The sighs that waft your souls to heaven;*

*The guiltless shame, the sweet distress,
The unutterable tenderness,*

and so forth. It is frankly introspective, and encourages us to prolonged self-examination. In the first half-dozen lines mention is made of the grace of God in Christ, though even there the emphasis is more on His proffered benefits than on Himself. In the following fourteen lines—eight of which have just been quoted—the human person who is the subject of the Christian experience is allowed to be quite self-centred. In that mood the hymn ends. On the other hand number 326—*Sinners, obey the gospel word*—deliberately seeks to direct our thoughts not to ourselves, but to God:

*Ready the Father is to own
And kiss His late-returning son;
Ready your loving Saviour stands,
And spreads for you His bleeding hands.*

*Ready the Spirit of His love
Just now the hardness^b to remove.*

^a The 1780 edition reads 'godly fear'.

^b The 1780 edition reads 'the story'.

The trouble is that since 1933 we have put the cart before the horse. In 1780, and for more than a century afterwards, the two hymns were united and printed as one. But the order was the very opposite of what we have chosen. Charles Wesley began with *Sinners, obey the gospel word*, and followed that with *Come then, ye sinners to your Lord*. By the little word 'then' he showed so clearly the health of his spiritual outlook. First he emphasized the Christian revelation of God as the ground of all Christian experience. Then, and only then, did he elaborate the details of the experience itself. In 1904 the hymn was divided into two, but the original order was kept. We in 1933 were the first to invert it, and in doing so we gave ourselves away rather badly.

For if there is any outstanding craze in modernity, it is this inordinate habit of self-inspection. The development of psychology as a science has made our emotional nature to loom largely in our consciousness. As a result, the dissection of our feelings has become with us not only a favourite pastime, but a positive obsession. Illustrations are numerous in current fiction. Compare, for example, any novel of Galsworthy with its counterpart from Scott or from Fielding. Where the two latter describe either vigorous action or the scenery of the external world, Galsworthy offers us the most intimate musings of his characters—pages and pages of their self-communion brilliantly set down in indirect speech. Sometimes this contemporary *penchant* for taking our own spiritual temperatures is greeted as an aid to religious renewal. But there is a corresponding peril lest we should identify with the whole of authentic Christianity our fluctuating joys and sorrows, assurances and doubts, hopes and fears, exaltations and shames. In particular the Methodist delight in experience can easily be perverted into something whose proper name is Buddhism. So far as this has happened, the fault is ours and not John Wesley's. Much indeed of what we parade as experimental religion he probably would have reviled as mere mysticism, for which he had no great liking. His brother would have joined him in that. Charles Wesley's custom was not to sing of his own experience, unless first he had sung of Him whose incarnation alone validates any Christian experience and rescues it from the charge of being illusory. We yielded too much to the current mode when we made the experience so prominent, and reduced its cause, its guarantee, and its test to practically the position of an appendix. It may be pleaded that no hymn-book is arranged for the purpose of having its hymns sung consecutively. But in fact the present hymn-book is read through in consecutive order by not a few people in their private devotions. Anyhow, to sing number 325 by itself is not good for us in the present spiritual atmosphere. This age needs no encouragement to plunge into an orgy of subjectivity, but it needs desperately to hear the cry: 'Behold, your God.'

IV

About the fourth and last example one feels more diffident. It may prove to be a mare's-nest, but let it be mentioned for what it is worth. It is number 648 in the present edition—*Away with our sorrow and fear!* Until 1904 the five verses of the 1780 edition were retained. We have imitated the 1904 edition in dropping the fifth verse. What we have kept is a description of the New Jerusalem in language derived from the Book of Revelation:

*Our mourning is all at an end,
 When, raised by the life-giving word,
 We see the new city descend,
 Adorned as a bride for her Lord;
 The city so holy and clean,
 No sorrow can breathe in the air;
 No gloom of affliction or sin,
 No shadow of evil is there.*

*By faith we already behold
 That lovely Jerusalem here;
 Her walls are of jasper and gold,
 As crystal her buildings are clear.*

I have quoted nearly half the hymn as it now is. Much of the other half is in the same strain. It is too much to say that the heavenly city is described only in material terms. It is not an unspiritual picture. But it is not so very distinguishable from the humanistic Utopias whose elusive beauty has tantalized men's minds throughout the centuries. In another connexion the Rev. A. S. Gregory⁴ has written of the 'frankly pagan idealism' which inspires hymns like *These things shall be* and *Turn back, O man*. It is almost impossible to reduce Charles Wesley to anything like that. But that is the direction in which we and our fathers—witness our editors—have moved. Let us read the hymn again, as we have it, and ask how much it really tells us. The new city will come down from God, and that is very important. She will be free from all that we deplore on earth, which dream is common to all men of goodwill. She will be full of the glory of God, but that is rather vague. The distinctively Christian emphasis comes in the last four lines:

*The Lamb is their light and their sun,
 And lo, by reflection they shine,
 With Jesus ineffably one,
 And bright in effulgence divine.*

Four lines following twenty-eight! But it was not Charles Wesley's original proportion. Let us look at his fifth verse:

*The saints in His presence receive
 Their great and eternal reward,
 In Jesus, in heaven they live,
 They reign in the smile of their Lord:
 The flame of angelical love
 Is kindled at Jesus's face;
 And all the enjoyment above
 Consists in the rapturous gaze.*

There is the quintessence of the Christian idea of heaven, and the necessary climax of the hymn. Even if five eight-line verses are considered too long in one hymn, the verse to be omitted in this hymn is surely not the fifth. Men

⁴ *Praises with Understanding*, p. 93.

will continue to dream of their Utopias, no doubt, and some of their dreams can appropriately be lifted into a Christian context. But it is idle to try to square them completely with the transcendent experience of the New Testament saints. Perhaps Harnack's was the unfortunate influence persuasive in 1904. Today his theology is rarely mentioned, except to be criticized as inadequate. But we have still to undo some of its results.

The inquiry is natural whether in the foregoing suggestions there is any common ground. Can the mental attitude exemplified above be covered by any single term? If it can, the term must needs be the oft-repeated 'humanism'. Without very precise definition, we today know fairly well what we mean when we use it. But the thing itself has been called in the past by various names. Its first notable appearance in Christian thought was in the person of Pelagius. Then the commanding mind of Augustin subdued it and kept it subdued for generations. It reappeared in the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, and Charles Wesley's affinities emphatically were not with that. Then almost in our own time the Liberal Theology of Germany spread it among the English-speaking peoples, and it is with us to this day. It speaks volumes for our loyalty to Methodist doctrine that this all-pervading attitude has so little influenced our editors whether in 1904 or in 1933. I have tried to make the most of the few traces I can find of the effect of humanistic bias. But to the general bulk of humanism they are related as are a few teeth and claws to the whole body of a dinosaur.

Indeed I should like to close by deprecating all futile sighs for an impossible return to the 1780 edition and its exclusive use. For one thing, the Supplement of 1831, to say nothing of its successor in 1876, was no unfortunate excrescence. Consider an almost random list of Charles Wesley's hymns, excluded by his brother in 1780, but published fifty years later: *Jesu, Lover of my soul; Thou Shepherd of Israel, and mine; All praise to our redeeming Lord; Ye servants of God, your Master proclaim; Stupendous height of heavenly love; Let earth and heaven combine; Christ the Lord is risen today; Earth, rejoice, our Lord is King; Come, let us join our friends above.* Others could be added of scarcely inferior quality. To John Wesley's editorship we owe very much, but not everything. As for the 1933 Committee, confronted by a much more difficult task than any of their predecessors, they deserve our thanks for having on the whole treated their Methodist inheritance with great good taste. Admittedly their exclusion of entire hymns occasionally gives reasonable cause for regret. But most of what they retained, they either kept undamaged or actually enhanced.

R. ERNEST KER

Recent Literature

The Apostolic Ministry, edited by the Bishop of Oxford. (Hodder & Stoughton, £2 2s.)

This massive volume of 573 pages has been prepared under the direction of the Bishop of Oxford and contains ten essays by writers who belong to the same school of thought. Its inception was due to the conviction shared by the contributors that the time was ripe for a fresh survey of the whole subject of the Christian ministry. There is much learning displayed in these pages and a high spiritual tone is maintained throughout. The scope of the volume is indicated by the titles of the various essays: *The Apostolic Ministry* (K. E. Kirk); *The Body of Christ in the New Testament* (L. S. Thornton); *The Ministry in the New Testament* (A. M. Farrer); *The Ministry in the Early Church* (Gregory Dix); *The Doctrine of Parity of Ministers* (T. G. Jalland); *Feudal Episcopacy* (T. M. Parker); *The Post Reformation Episcopate in England* (Beatrice Hamilton Thompson and Cecilia M. Ady); *Sidelights from the Non-Episcopal Communions* (K. D. Mackenzie); *Ministerial Episcopacy* (A. G. Hebert); *Epilogue* (F. W. Green). The main contention of this symposium is stated with a pleasing clarity and a startling precision in the essays contributed by the Bishop of Oxford and Dom Gregory Dix. The key to any understanding of the meaning of episcopacy, it is urged, is found in the recognition of the distinction between two types of ministries—essential and dependent. The 'essential' ministry has the unquestioned right to ordain those who, having no such power, belong to the dependent ministry. This essential ministry is the Episcopate, which in its origin and development bears a sacramental character. The original apostles were intended, it would appear, by our Lord to be His plenipotentiaries with the authority to hand on to others the functions which they fulfilled. In the New Testament, there are only two orders of ministers in the Church—apostles and elders. Subsequently, the essential ministry became identified with the Episcopate. As such, Episcopacy is the divinely ordained ministerial instrument for securing to the Church its organic and continuous unity. It is not an administrative office, but a permanent and indispensable spiritual function. If this were a detailed review, it would be necessary to call attention to many important points—as, for instance, the disproportionate weight attached to the alleged connexions between the Greek *apostellein* and the Hebrew *shaliach*, the treatment of the ministry in the New Testament, and the failure, in spite of much learning, to bridge the gap between the apostolate and the episcopacy as essential ministry. We must, however, content ourselves with two observations. First, the writers of this volume have rendered a service in stating unambiguously the terms upon which they can contemplate re-union with non-episcopal Churches. The Episcopacy as a sacramental ministry must be accepted as the basis of a re-united Church. Here, no distinction is tolerated between 'fact' and 'interpretation', and no such comprehensiveness as is allowed in the Anglican Church of today is envisaged in the re-united church of the future. It is obvious that on this basis any discussion of re-union would be mis-spent energy. Second, we welcome the insistence of the writers upon the necessity of continuity in the Church. No one doubts that the Episcopacy has been an instrument used by God to further both its unity and continuity. But can it be said that it is the only instrument? What of the continuity of witness in Christian character and fellowship, in the preaching of the Word and the administration of the Sacraments in non-episcopal communions? If the unity and continuity of the Church are necessarily dependent upon the possession of an 'essential' ministry, then we are back again at the mechanical conception of the Episcopacy from which this volume would fain deliver us. Dr.

Kirk closes his essay with the following words: 'If the Church is to go forward conquering and to conquer in this troubled world, she must go as an instrument divinely forged. . . . And it is only as she can claim that her ministry derives direct from the Lord Himself in the days of His flesh and is given her for leadership, for path finding and for spiritual replenishment, that she can pursue her victorious yet dreadful pilgrimage undaunted.' This is finely said. But is this marked emphasis upon the ministry characteristic of the New Testament, and is an episcopal ministry the only ministry that can claim to be derived from the Lord Himself? We look in vain in these pages for a conclusive answer to such questions. HAROLD ROBERTS

The Gift of Ministry, by Daniel T. Jenkins. (Faber and Faber, 6s.)

Catholicity: A Report presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury. (Dacre Press, 2s. 6d.)

These two books have different purposes and are written by members of the two most apparently opposed groups in the Christian Ministry outside the Roman Church, but they share a fine sincerity, an acute sense of the dangers and difficulties of our time, and a humbling shame that our divisions are still accepted with fatal complacency by many professed members of Christ's Church. *The Gift of Ministry*, written by a Congregationalist, deals with matters of great importance to this generation and especially to those who teach in theological colleges. Books of pastoral theology are mostly written by men whose memory is 'of battles long ago'; Mr. Jenkins sends out his as an urgent despatch from 'the front line'. It is not surprising, therefore, that hurry, even confusion, mar some of the pages, and impatience and dogmatism obtrude. Yet there are so many good and sound observations that it is to be hoped the book will be read and discussed, particularly in Fraternals and study circles. Very much influenced by Barth and Kierkegaard, Mr. Jenkins emphasizes the importance of the Ministry in relation to the Word of God, seeing the pastor, not as a man secluded from life, but as living dangerously on its frontiers. His opinions of the minister's education, of his relations with his people, and of his place in society, are all vibrant with passionate conviction.

Catholicity is the report of a group of Anglican theologians of Catholic views concerning the major causes of conflict between those holding markedly Protestant and Catholic positions. Clearly and devoutly written, its main burden is 'that the problem of re-union is that of the recovery of the "wholeness" of Tradition'. The report passes from the conception of Primitive Unity to a survey of Protestantism, orthodox and liberal, and the Post-Tridentine Papal Communion, ending with a few pages on the Anglican Communion. As the writers admit, they are more successful in analysis than in construction, and they are obviously unhappy about divisions within as well as outside their own Communion. But they often fail to recognize the fruits of genuine Christianity on trees other than their own. Their general view of the Council of Trent would persuade an uninformed man that it was a wholly beneficent and spiritually reformatory body and that the Papacy was most anxious to listen to its suggestions. If only Luther and Calvin had waited long enough adequate reforms would have come! But Trent tied the Roman Church to medieval doctrines as well as to Papal domination. A sentence of Mr. Jenkins might usefully be offered in criticism: 'The Council of Trent obstinately missed the point of the Reformation and its pronouncements still read cold and abstract by the side of the great Reformation confessions.'

HAROLD S. DARBY

Conflict in Christology, by John Stewart Lawton. (S.P.C.K., 20s.)

In these pages Mr. Lawton offers a study of British and American Christological writings from the publication of *Lux Mundi* in 1889 to 1914. These years, he holds,

mark the limits of the rise and fall, or, at least, exposure of 'liberal' Christology. By 'liberal' Mr. Lawton means that view of Christ's Person which assumes the non-existence of miracles, and regards the human element in Christ's person as the first and, as he seems to think, the last word in Christology. He writes as a whole-hearted anti-'liberal', and he gives the impression that the liberals were the avowed critics and opponents of orthodox Christianity, and that their writings were marked by animus and haste, to say nothing of a failure to appreciate the strong points of the position which they were attacking. In fact, the liberal school, as he would call it, was very far from being homogeneous. The writers he describes include men of such divergent outlooks and beliefs as Gore, Weston, Forsyth, R. J. Campbell (in his *New Theology* days), Horton, Garvie (spoken of in one place as 'ubiquitous'), and Richard Roberts. Mr. Lawton summarizes the succession of different theories quite well, but it is misleading to talk about a 'school'. The writers named, for example, were very far from upholding a single negative view about miracles, and many of them believed firmly in the historicity of the Resurrection. Comparatively few of them started by regarding Christ as a 'mere man'. Most of them held that 'the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us'. What they were concerned about was to discover what this 'dwelling among us' really implied. 'Those who begin with the postulate that Christ was a complete man, and then attempt to show how such a complete man as they suppose him to have been was united to God', end, the author holds, in confused speculation. Yet that is how the Gospels begin. That it was the Godhead which was veiled in flesh we deny at our peril, but we may first discover that Jesus is our Brother now. To appreciate the period under review, one needs to remember its atmosphere. For instance, it was the day of the confident assertions of 'science', and books like Rénan's *Vie de Jésus* and Seeley's *Ecce Homo* were influential. Many of those whose views are here summarized tried, however inadequately, to separate the kernel of the old Christology from its husk. But, criticism apart, we are grateful to Mr. Lawton for reminding us of the abiding necessity for theology, though those who desire positive answers to the questions he raises must, for the most part, look elsewhere. One wishes that he had avoided neologisms like 'Christologian' and 'apothéosizing', and slips like 'diothelitism' and Graff. Some of his references too might have been more carefully verified, and in place of a bibliography which, though very full, is not free from error and omission, there might have been an index of subjects and names.

W. F. LOFTHOUSE

Creed or Chaos, by Dorothy L. Sayers. (Methuen, 5s.)

This volume is a reprint of pamphlets issued in response, we are told, to a persistent demand. Modestly described as essays in popular theology, they perhaps oversimplify here and there, but the writer is very competent in the particular province she invades. The essays are written with the forthrightness and piquancy which will be anticipated of Miss Sayers. She contrives to find a great deal of elbow-room within a very rigid framework of dogma. So much so, indeed, that a liberal Protestant—which is no name for the author—might wish the book a wide circulation among those of his own persuasion. The title sufficiently reveals the general appeal of the book although its antithesis is a little mitigated, since it seems that even the Creeds may be somewhat chaotic apart from considerable elucidation. There are, apparently, certain mistaken assumptions at the back of our formularies, for which it would appear that St. Paul must bear some of the blame, St. Augustine 'a great deal more', and Calvin 'a very great deal'. If the Church would, or could, say what it really means by its formularies with forthrightness, religion would have a more virile and effective appeal. We congratulate the writer on saying much that is to the point under this head, albeit she does not spare those who preach and administer.

It is a little amusing to find Dr. Selbie reproached for an alleged moment of reckless anti-dogmatism. Dr. Selbie! He may not defend himself now, but we think his real point must have been missed delightfully. In spite of some things that irk a little, we have read these essays with gratitude and appreciation, and we heartily recommend them to the earnest perusal both of clergy and laity. In particular, the one entitled *Why work?* deserves at least a second reading. R. SCOTT FRAYN

L'Evangile de Jean, d'après les recherches recentes, by Philippe H. Menoud; *Le Baptême Chrétien,—son origine, sa signification*, by Franz J. Leenhardt. (Delachaux et Nestlé S.A., Neuchatel, Fr. 3.50 each.)

These are two volumes in the *Cahiers Théologiques de l'Actualité Protestante* series. In the first, Prof. Menoud offers a series of discussions of the theories as to the origin and interpretation of the Johannine writings. He deals with the Literary Question on all its sides, with the origin and interpretation of the Johannine ideas, with the influence of Hellenistic syncretism and oriental Gnosticism, and with the Logos, the Spirit-Paraclete, and the relation of the Johannine writings to other parts of the New Testament and to each other. Prof. Menoud's conclusions are: 1, the Fourth Gospel was widely known about the year A.D. 100; 2, the best way to resolve the difficulties as to its literary structure is to suppose that the evangelist died before completing his book, and that an editor then tried to connect some perhaps isolated portions, but acted with such caution that he did not make the Gospel 'a seamless robe'; 3, the writer was acquainted with Gnostic ideas and utilized them in his vocabulary, but he was firmly attached to the theological tradition of the infant Church and he affirmed with her that God reveals Himself in history; he defended the Christian tradition with the arms of those who attacked it; 4, both the language and thought of the Gospel are found in the Johannine letters; there is now less hesitation in affirming the unity of the five books, with the possible exception of the Apocalypse; 5, recent researches tend to remove the obstacles that criticism has raised to the identification of the 'beloved Disciple' with the son of Zebedee; 6, since the beginning an inexplicable mystery has enveloped the 'beloved disciple' and his Gospel, because the evangelist wished to be an anonymous witness. While Menoud's book is learned, it is admirably clear, and not without a touch of humour in its description of the fantastic theories of Eisler. There is an excellent bibliography.

Prof. Leenhardt thinks that Christians have put the cart before the horse in debating the question of infant baptism before getting a clear idea of what baptism means. Accordingly in this book he embarks on an objective study of the data as given in the New Testament in order to find the true doctrine of this Sacrament. He covers all the ground and his examination is very thorough, with references to many works, especially those in French and German, and there are many illuminating comments. The least satisfying section is that on the Baptism of Jesus by John. From the New Testament evidence Prof. Leenhardt concludes that the Sacrament is not the instrument of salvation and therefore in this sense is not necessary for it, but that saving faith normally leads to baptism. For the believer it is the sign of the divine will applying the grace of God to him. Prof. Leenhardt goes on to discuss infant baptism in the light of New Testament teaching. The promise of the outpouring of the Spirit can be pronounced over an infant, but only on one condition—that those who administer the Sacrament to one who is as yet unconscious of its meaning, assume the responsibility of making him aware later of what has been done to him. Baptism, therefore, should take place only in a community of faithful adult believers. Even under these conditions it is defective, since by definition the Sacrament requires a conscious subject, yet it does not involve a misconception of its essential meaning. So it can be tolerated. Prof. Leenhardt holds, however, that

when the implications of the doctrine are thoroughly understood it will be realized that infant baptism is an incorrect application of it, and he hopes that the practice will be changed. But in the present condition of knowledge would not this bring worse evils than those which one wishes to exorcize?

HENRY HOGARTH

Philo. Philosophical Writings. Selections edited by Hans Lewy. (Phaidon Press, 7s. 6d.)

That Philo was great, either intrinsically or in historical influence, is doubtful, yet he was one of the most remarkable figures of antiquity. Philosophically, he anticipated some of the ideas of the Neoplatonists. Religiously, he touches our interest at two points. In the first place, in the mingling of Greek and Oriental ideas that marked the ending of the pagan era, he stands out as representing at its best the narrower, more controlled, more responsible syncretism of Greek philosophy with Jewish theology; he was the culminating point of the tendency that began in a very simple way in the wisdom literature of the Old Testament. In the second place, it was he who, finding at hand the idea of the Logos as a creative, or at least a fashioning, principle, reconceived it as the 'first-born' of God, and thereby probably prepared the way for the use of it (with changes which he would have rejected) in the prologue of the Fourth Gospel. As he is scarcely ever read except by such specialists as have an intellectual motive strong enough to hold them through his tedious allegorizings of the Pentateuch, what has a lasting appeal in his writings is not generally known. It was therefore a happy idea to make a short selection, in translation, of passages that can be read with pleasure and profit by general readers who are at home in the higher levels of experience. The passages chosen are for the most part of directly moral and religious (especially mystical) value. Philo's description of the Essenes and the Therapeutae is also included. The translations are taken from the Loeb edition. There is a competent introduction by the editor, whose death since the book went to Press has deprived the Hebrew University at Jerusalem of one of its best teachers. The volume, besides being useful to students, would make a charming gift to a serious reader, for the external form is as attractive as the contents. Printed at the Curwen Press, it is an excellent piece of typographical work, and it is sympathetically bound. It is the first of five volumes in 'The East and West Library' on distinguished Jewish thinkers.

T. E. JESSOP

Berkeley's Immaterialism, by A. A. Luce. (T. Nelson & Sons, 6s.)

In brevity, beauty, clarity, and elemental insight Bishop Berkeley's *Principles of Human Knowledge* is the most remarkable of British philosophical classics. Within a small compass it soars from a theory of sense-perception to a new proof of the existence of God. Because of a narrow English concern with perception, the beginning of the work has received more attention than its end. Both in motive and in result the work is an essay in Natural Theology, and as such deserves to be more widely read by students of the philosophy of religion. These, reading about him at second-hand, have often been 'put off' by the usual report that he was the brilliant maker of a paradoxical system of subjective idealism. Like Professor Luce, I am convinced that he was nothing of the sort. A commentary on the *Principles* was needed, and we are fortunate in having one from a scholar who knows more about Berkeley than anyone else. Working in Berkeley's own College, Professor Luce has been producing for some years a sequence of original studies in which the interpretation of this philosopher's writings is put on a new basis. In this new book he has taken up the Irishman's masterpiece and gone through its sections with a running exposition. He has 'tried it out' on his students and clarified it in consequence. It should be

read, as it has been written, with the text of the *Principles* laid open alongside it. By this severe test it will be found illuminating at every point. The true meaning of the famous doctrine that the *esse* of things is their *percipi* is trenchantly brought out, the apparent difficulties in it are dealt with, and the cogency of the conclusion—that the world is unthinkable apart from its dependence on God—is exhibited and endorsed. Readers will learn more about Berkeley from this small book than from all the textbooks on the history of philosophy.

T. E. JESSOP

Man in Eastern Religions, by Frederick Haddaway Hilliard. (Epworth Press, 5s.)

The comparative study of Religions has produced many books intended to show the superiority of one Faith over others, but few that have tried to show how Christianity may profit by assimilating beliefs from other religions. Here Hocking's *Living Religions and a World Faith* led the way to a new synthesis, based upon a recognition of the values to be found in various religions, including Christianity. This effort is carried a stage farther by such thinkers as Dr. Hilliard, who gallantly suggests ways in which Christianity, as currently conceived, could profit by having grafted into it certain beliefs about man which are stressed by other religions. Thus Hinduism at its best emphasizes more than Western theology the idea that man is made in God's image; Buddhism teaches that man essentially is not a static being, but one in perpetual becoming, either for better or worse; Parsism insists upon man's freedom of will; Confucianism urges that his true nature is good, not evil; Islam establishes a brotherhood of believers which is a reproach to many Christians; Judaism stresses the integrity of human nature, with its individual rights and its claim to direct communion with God. These convictions, it is suggested, need to be woven into the religion which above all asserts the importance of personality, namely Christianity. Such a religion, it is true, might have to be a Christianity reconceived, but does not the present world-situation require this? And can we have a world-faith without some great reconstruction? Dr. Hilliard's work is a contribution to that end, and for our part we believe that he is upon the right lines. His book exhibits much learning, a truly Catholic temper, and an eminently judicious mind.

ATKINSON LEE

Philosophical Understanding and Religious Truth, by Erich Frank. (Oxford Press, \$2.50.)

Dr. Frank, formerly professor of philosophy at Marburg University and now Research Associate at Harvard, inquires in this book into the relations between philosophy and religion as understood by 'modern man'. This rather indefinite person is supposed to have put his trust in Science, only to find that it does not answer his deepest questions, such as those of sorrow, suffering, death, and guilt. And so he is driven to religious faith, here understood as dependence upon a power which transcends human reason. For while reason cannot prove the existence of God, as is shown by the failure of the old arguments of theology, the arguments of atheism are equally futile. Hence the paradoxical statement is permissible that 'the real proof of God is the agonized attempt to deny God'. For the presence of transcendent power is undeniable, but it can be described only in terms of analogy, of imagination, and of art. To this extent we can attempt to grasp the meaning of terms like Creation, History and Destiny, Time and Eternity, as used in religion. But in the end even these fail us in our effort to seize the Absolute, and we must acknowledge that it is in silence that God reveals himself to us as the Presence by which we are determined in our whole existence. This conclusion is, of course, the ancient one of the extreme mystics, but it is supported by a display of learning which is prodigious. The argument itself is compressed even to the point of meagreness, but it is eked out by comments and references which amount to one-third of the text.

Indeed the book should be rewritten so as to embody the notes and quotations in the exposition. Even then, however, we should be unconvinced, for the weaknesses of the reason do not prove its radical incapacity to deal with theological questions, and the appeal to metaphor, paradox, and submissive silence seems more like escapism than faith. However, we must take our mental climate as we find it, and without doubt Dr. Frank has written a book which will make us think again about the great problems which it raises. And the result of that thinking may be a great advance upon the confusion in which at present those problems are involved.

ATKINSON LEE

The Way of Life, by C. J. Barker. (Lutterworth Press, 215.)

The Vicar of Great Torrington tells us that Dr. Newton Flew inspired him to write this book. It is a study in Christian Ethics, in which a well-balanced and well-stored mind brings treasures of scholarship and insight to illuminate the moral teaching of Christianity. The author is a polished classical scholar and his book contains many interesting illustrations from classical antiquity as well as much stimulating New Testament exegesis. The gracious, flowing style makes it easy reading. The main theme is that the Christian Way of Life is at once incarnational and eschatological—incarnational because it is learnt from Him who is the Way, eschatological because it has an other-worldly goal. The author modestly refers to some of the limitations of the book. It does not discuss sex or war, and, as the dust-cover says, it is not a systematic treatise. In fact, there are many topics which the author discusses briefly but declines to treat at length. Sin is discussed, but there is no real account of salvation. 'It is not here possible to enter in detail' into Justification by Faith. Agape and Eros are reconciled in a few paragraphs. The Church and Holy Communion are mentioned a number of times, but never expounded. The problem of pain is very briefly treated. These are not, of course, primarily moral questions, but they are questions which should be treated more fully if they are treated at all. The same is true of some of the more specifically moral issues. Pacifism is criticized, but 'is too vast a subject to be adequately treated here'. Economic problems are discussed at some length, but without any treatment of Karl Marx. If the implications of the New Testament for modern society are to be included, we should like to hear more about them. Again, the order of the chapters is curious. The author gives some explanation why 'The Kingdom of God' is left to the last chapter, but he does not tell us why 'Sin' is the last but one, coming after chapters on such subjects as 'Forgiveness' and 'Punishment'. This is typical of the whole book. Mr. Barker is very sympathetic with Hellenism, and sharply dissents from that Hebraic stream of thought which finds varied expression in Barth, Brunner, Niebuhr, and Nygren. With his defence of perfectionism against that school a Methodist is bound in a measure to sympathize, but he even goes so far as to say: 'According to Niebuhr, the Judgement will pronounce that much in human achievement is still faulty or even sinful. This is questionable. Our Lord more than hinted in the parable of the Unjust Judge that the *parousia* would be delayed until there was faith on the earth.' This is not only a curious exegesis but also characteristic of Mr. Barker's genial but not entirely evangelical optimism. He seems not wholly to realize the depth of man's tragic predicament, and thereby diminishes the wonder of salvation. The list of books for further reading is rather patchy. The work is well-printed, but on page 62 'ninth' should be 'eighth'; the Greek breathings, accents and *iota subscript* are sometimes misprinted; and there is no general index, which is unfortunate in a book so rich in allusion and illustration and so helpful as a mine of interesting and varied material. When all criticisms have been made, this is a very helpful book, especially to preachers.

A. RAYMOND GEORGE

Freedom and Control—A Christian Interpretation, by E. V. Newman. (S.C.M., 6s.)

This book tackles a live issue. If the reader is to get the best out of it he must be prepared to give considerable time and concentration to the reading, with frequent references to the chapter synopsis, and to accept a definition of the word 'personal' like the writer's. Mr. Newman has thought much and widely—so widely that the title, even if taken with the 'Conversation Piece' prologue and the Conclusion, does not quite describe the book, which rather lacks a steady unity. The specific and central Christian responsibility, the writer holds, lies in the immediate personal realm of the conversion of men and women. Yet a healthy Christian will also be striving to remove from society those things which deny 'personality'. The 'cash nexus' in industry is a denial of 'personality'. A moral basis must be found for economic relations, and that basis must provide for liberty of expression, liberty for development of the complete man, security of employment, and security of livelihood during interruptions of employment. To provide all this needs a plan, and this means that the State must act. In fact, the writer thinks it unlikely that the State will be able to leave any large amount of industry uncontrolled. Again, to secure the world-wide security and just distribution of wealth and the development of truly 'personal' relations among men, which such a moral basis demands, means a drastic modification of National Sovereignty. Once more, in order to live in society we are all obliged to acquiesce to some degree in sub-Christian standards. This book urges the Christian humbly to recognize this fact and, by using the instruments of democracy, to struggle toward a better state of things. He commends participation in local government as educative for a wider sphere of influence. He begs the Christian eagerly to attack the suggestion, made so constantly in industry, that all men are selfish and always will be. The teaching profession and the Christian Ministry, quoted as examples of areas where service bears no relation to monetary reward, support the hope that a considerable shift of values could be quickly effected in our economic structure. The penultimate chapter, headed 'Spiritual Religion', is stimulating and suggestive, though the prayer quoted from Headham, 'If I am getting my daily bread at the cost or at the risk of depriving others of theirs, I pray Thee, O Father, take it from me . . .', is surely an example of expecting God to do that which we ought to arrange for ourselves! In this book from Tonga the careful reader will find much food for thought, much material for discussion, and not a little inspiration.

R. B.

Religion and Society, by S. Radhakrishnan. (Allen & Unwin, 10s. 6d.)

These lectures were delivered in Calcutta in 1942 at 'one of the most decisive moments in the life of mankind'. With the Japanese at the very gates of India, Gandhi advocating non-resistance, the life-line of Imperial protection worn very thin, Sir S. Radhakrishnan was not the first philosopher to keep his head and his dreams while the clash of war grew louder and more confusing. Recognizing the war as only a phase of world-revolution and deriving consolation and inspiration from other faiths and from ideals more secure than nationalism, he yet found in his own creed the remedies for a world sick in spirit when at times 'the god-man becomes the herd-animal'. He believes in the undying 'forward thrust of hope and will' toward a world community. Marx's theory of social change is examined and rejected as inadequate. Spiritual revival is always possible. 'From the beginning of recorded history, Hinduism has borne witness to the sacred flame of spirit which must remain for ever, even while dynasties crash and empires tumble into ruins. It alone can give our civilization a soul, and men and women a principle to live by.' But the Hinduism of Professor Radhakrishnan is not the dry bones of unadaptable orthodoxy. The winds of Christian and other thought have passed over them and

given new life in a world where men are ill at ease. Personal contemplation and purposeful action make philosophers 'the creators of the future'. Fine examples of this revivification are found in the lectures on two perennial problems: the place of woman and of war in society. Marriage laws do not solve love's problems. 'Love is not merely flame meeting flame, but spirit calling to spirit.' Gandhi's pacific ideal will be realized one day. Yet we must live in the world as it is, Kurukshetra, the eternal battle-field. This, however, is no excuse for the philosopher to be complacent or the saint to be silent. 'The sooner we anticipate the views of our descendants, the better will it be for humanity.' The distinguished author of this persuasive, lively book has the humility of the truly religious philosopher. 'Becoming better than we were, we realize that we could be better than we are.' A Christian would like to ask the author whether he could have made his selection of Hindu thought without another 'guiding light'.

G. STANTON MARRIS

An Approach to Social Medicine, by John D. Kershaw. (Baillière, Tindall & Cox, 15s.)

There is already a hint of the fighting man in Dr. Kershaw's dedication of his book to his enemies as well as his friends. He has an independent and forceful mind, and a style bare to the point of austerity. He hammers home his points without troubling about the frills and fancies of literary allusions. In his three-hundred and twenty-nine pages there is no padding. The book begins with a general survey of society and then discusses the problem of keeping well within its tensions. The sketch of the genesis of the family, the local community, and the State, is brief and uneven. The account of the early beginnings of family life is questionable, and the writer's standards for determining the proper relationship of the sexes are not moral, but wholly economic and prudential. In his treatment of the local community, however, he utters a wise and well-spoken warning against the dangers involved in the artificiality of new housing estates, 'garden cities' and the 'factory villages' of wealthy employers. About the factors that make a State, or the influence of occupational groups, he has nothing new to say. In the second section of the book his discussion of the relation between the individual and society is bright but not deep, and here his anti-religious bias shows itself with painful distinctness. While he inveighs elsewhere against the Churches' 'sabbatarianism' and their condemnation of that useful 'social lubricant', alcohol, here, whilst fully allowing for the social value of religion in regulating conduct, he underlines the Marxist charge of 'dope' and finds that 'religious dogmas are unacceptable to pure reason and so their acceptance depends upon whether emotion can overrule reason or persuade it to turn a blind eye in a particular direction'. As to 'blind eyes', one might say to the author—Physician, heal thyself. But on his own subject of medicine in society and the social problems of health, the author speaks as one having authority. The whole second part of the book sheds invaluable light on the connexion between a man's health and the conditions of his social life. Despite the author's blind spots, this book is a splendid introduction to the study of social medicine.

MALDWYN EDWARDS

Theology of Society—more Essays in Christian Polity, by V. A. Demant. (Faber & Faber, 10s. 6d.)

The Grace of God and German Guilt, by Heinrich Vogel. (S.C.M., 2s. 6d.)

Theology of Society is a successor to the author's *Christian Polity* (1936), and represents his thought during the last decade. There is an arrestingly original quality in Canon Demant's work which makes him one of our contemporary prophets. In temper and outlook he resembles William Temple and Reinhold Niebuhr,

combining the roles of theologian and sociologist. His new book will be a godsend to men perplexed by the problems and discouraged by the difficulties of the times. In particular, it should help many a Christian minister to recover a consciousness of an urgent and indispensable mission, and to speak with understanding and authority. There is a manifest unity of thought in these twenty essays which may readily be exhibited. The miscarriage of life in the West which has resulted in two fearful world-wars and in furious ideological conflicts, both within and between States, calls for drastic remedy. The outstanding solution of our day has been Totalitarianism in its several forms. Internal strife is banished, unity is enforced, and religion, science, art, law, education, the family, are all required to minister to the State, which is of supreme value and claims the whole man. As a refuge from division and chaos, Totalitarian societies have kindled passionate loyalty and devotion. To projects of this kind Christianity is the enemy, as Lenin saw and Hitler proved. The Totalitarian solution is not congruous with the whole of man's true nature, for he is more than citizen. Neither nation nor race nor State, nor class, nor any theory of economics, can ever be the absolute to which all else is relative. Here is the Christian opportunity. The total loyalty which man craves to give is to be offered only to God and His Kingdom. It is the duty and privilege of the Church of Christ, eschewing 'pietism' on the one hand and 'practicality' on the other, to build a New Order which is congruous with the true nature of God, of man, and of the world. In these essays this weighty thesis is organically linked with Christian theology, set forth in untechnical language, and enlivened with memorable epigram and telling illustration.

Professor Vogel's little book contains three deeply evangelical and moving addresses which should help English Christians to sympathize with their German comrades, involved in the Nazi degradation and overthrow. This tragic pamphlet, dealing with national guilt, repentance and forgiveness, should compel our own spiritual leaders to reflect upon the message they would have delivered to a demoralized and defeated Britain.

F. BROMPTON HARVEY

Christian Education, by Spencer Leeson. (Longmans, 15s.)

Essential Education, by W. R. Niblett. (University of London Press, 4s. 6d.)

There could be no greater contrast than these two books—in size, in content, and in style. Professor Niblett has written a small book, a mere sketch, as it were, of a great theme, but he manages to convey something of the greatness of it to his reader. It would be over-emphasis to say that there is here 'infinite riches in a little room', but there is certainly much wisdom. As a statement of Christian ideals in education it is warmly to be commended and its style is worthy of its theme. The emphasis in education, he points out, is today passing from facts to experience, and never therefore were religious idealism and values more needed.

It is difficult to know how to be fair to Canon Leeson's Bampton Lectures. The reviewer began with high hopes that here at last was a full-scale treatment of a vital question, but he has to confess to deep disappointment. There are some men who are doers rather than thinkers; they can run a school or work out a policy, but when they seek to put it all into words they are quite unable to rise to the height of their own great argument. It is no discredit to Canon Leeson to say that he is clearly of this class and that he has mistaken his characteristic medium. It is nevertheless unfortunate, because he has (or had) a great name in the educational world, and this very mediocre product of his pen is therefore likely to be quoted as an authority. Sir Richard Livingstone (commended by Canon Leeson) is a writer of a similar kind, although unlike Canon Leeson he is never sentimental and his style is never commonplace. Yet they both know their Plato far better than they know their

Bible or their Church history, and their acquaintance with the history of English education is very limited. Consequently in the book before us there are many errors of fact and many instances of the misuse of words (such as 'interdenominational') and of the misplacement of emphasis (such as the unfair treatment meted out to T. H. Huxley and the ignoring of Froebel), due to an inexpert control over the subject. Canon Leeson, however, is not concerned with the deeper problems and he strictly limits his field. After two lectures which are mainly about Plato, he considers English education in the remaining six. Here he limits himself almost entirely to the administrative side of his subject and to the relation of Church and State in the matter of education. His appeal throughout is to Anglicans and his last lecture suggests a programme for the Church of England. But he represents the Anglicanism of an earlier generation and not all the members of his own communion would now agree with him. His position is summed up in this sentence: 'I believe myself that the case for the building, as well as the maintenance, of denominational schools at the public expense, where there is a sufficient demand for them, is impregnable.' Later he praises the Roman Church for the great service it has rendered to this country by always reminding us 'that religious freedom will not be fully achieved until the State is ready to provide the full cost of building and maintaining denominational schools where there is an unmistakable demand from the parents for such a school'. It is difficult to know what to deplore most in this incredible statement—its ignorance of the nature of local government, or of the history of education, or of psychology, or of politics, or of theology. It would be hard to find in briefer compass so comprehensive a syllabus of errors.

A. VICTOR MURRAY

Nervous Disorders and Character, by J. C. McKenzie. (Allen & Unwin, 5s.)

To the already crowded programme of the medical student of today there is to be added instruction in psychological medicine. In his book Professor John C. McKenzie makes out a convincing case for a parallel extension of the theological training of the present-day minister. A striking quotation from Dr. Jung might be taken as his text. This world-famous psychiatrist says that he 'has never seen a patient in the second half of life whose trouble was not due in the last resort to the fact that he had never had or had lost that which religion gives to all her devotees'. The writer is succinct in his delineation of the area which properly belongs to the psychiatrist, but he believes that pastoral psychology (which must be based on psycho-pathology) has a wide field both in the prevention of neurotic disorder and in its treatment. If a minister understands the spiritual diseases of his flock, he, and often only he, can complete the work of the psycho-therapist. Professor McKenzie condemns the over-simplifying of neurotic disease, which claims that it is only necessary to bring complexes to the surface and all is well. He holds that the crux of the matter lies in the 'reaction of the self' to frustrated need, affirming that 'the self' can take a hand in modifying mental processes. It is 'the self' we must change. A stern warning is sounded against the habit, all too common in some would-be spiritual leaders, of striving to produce a sense of guilt. An introjected, compulsive, infantile conscience is most likely to be a breeding ground of neuroses. The preacher must stimulate the positive, reasoned, personally accepted conscience. That must be directed *via* a sense of sin to the mercy and forgiveness of God. Professor McKenzie finds that his experience confirms that of Jung, that there are no Catholics among the patients coming to the psychiatrist. This he considers to be due to the excellent technique taught to Catholic priests for conducting the confessional and dealing spiritually with sinners. He laments the lack of a technique of assurance in Nonconformity. In a department of medical science where plurality

of causes is a dogma, and where definitions of terms have not yet crystallized, it is inevitable that a book dealing with psychotherapy should sometimes lack complete logical orderliness, yet on the whole it is well set out, and it is clearly expressed. A spirit of genuine Christian hopefulness pervades it. The writer has an infective reasoned confidence in the power and availability of the Spirit of Christ, the Saviour of men. Besides the classical figures of modern psychiatry, the writers most quoted are Karen Horney and Erich Fromm. The book ends with the enumeration of certain principles of mental hygiene. The pastor must first know himself, and this will need courage and humility. He must help his people to healthy self-criticism without morbid introspection, and must teach them to stop crying out for what they cannot get. He must show them the Christian way to adjust themselves to their frustrations. They must learn to accept the fact that religion is not an optional activity but the foundation of life, and to believe that if man has faith and courage, he may triumph, with the aid of psychological knowledge, over almost every mental abnormality. We wish that every theological student had the opportunity to read, and the educational equipment to appreciate, this short but valuable work. We may hope that in a generation we shall see the training of the ministry developed as Professor McKenzie advocates. Meanwhile the rank and file may at least realize the possibilities of pastoral psychology and refer spiritual sufferers to specialists, just as general medical practitioners refer selected cases to Harley Street. RALPH BOLTON

Old People, the Report of a Survey Committee published for the Trustees of The Nuffield Foundation. (Oxford University Press, 3s. 6d.)

Within the last twenty years we have lived through a great social revolution. One sign of this is that the old anxiety about old age has almost passed away. In this report the Committee set up by the Nuffield Trust under the Chairmanship of Mr. Seeborn Rowntree has shown conclusively that poverty no longer generally exists among the aged. There is not only the adequate provision made by the National Insurance Act, 1946, but the able and flexible administration of the Assistance Board which benefits those with special needs. The Committee's main emphasis is rightly upon the need for increased housing. On the basis of their investigations its members feel that five *per cent* of all houses in the national building programme should be suited to, and available for, old people. Their report also offers valuable suggestions about the type of dwelling, the kind of situation, and the sort of accommodation necessary. It has much to say about the total unsuitability of large Institutions and of the old type of almshouses, and suggests that many thousands of small Homes to hold thirty or thirty-five residents should be built by public or private effort. Special attention is paid to the type of provision needed for acute and chronic sickness among the aged. A valuable section deals with the necessity of revising charitable Trusts drawn up to meet the different conditions of a vanished age. The Committee's final recommendation is that both voluntary and statutory bodies should make much greater provision for the *occupation* of old people. Unused idleness adversely affects the mind and spirit. Old people ought to stay at work in this day of full employment as long as they are capable of productive labour. Afterwards bowls, gardening, handicrafts, cinema, radio and other recreational interests can add interest and enjoyment to their leisure. Special praise is given to rightly conducted clubs for the aged of both sexes. The Churches can surely play their part in this work. They have the potential helpers. But there must be leaders with imaginative sympathy and the capacity to overcome difficulties. Who could satisfy these conditions better than our Ministers? This Report offers them, even more than others, a challenge and an opportunity.

MALDWIN EDWARDS

Big Business, by Peter F. Drucker. (Heinemann, 10s. 6d.)

In the United States 'Big Business' has become an emotive phrase, carrying with it (at Election-time) horrid suggestions of immoral machinations, profiteering, and exploitation. There is, however, nothing shamefaced about Mr. Drucker's analysis of American business ideals and methods; nor is it truculent. Its notes are candour and objectivity. The bulk of the book is a study of the organization and operation of one of the greatest and most typical of American manufacturing corporations—General Motors—which comprises several firms and employs over 400,000 workers. This imposing experiment in federalism aims at combining decentralization with unity and liberty with order. Readers will be fascinated by Mr. Drucker's study of leadership, labour and dealer problems, and the quest for 'yardsticks' (i.e. objective tests of efficiency). We are also given an instructive analysis of the American mind, its 'middle-class' ideal, its ethical creed, its reconciliation of equality and hierarchy. 'Big Business' knows quite well that it must fulfil adequately its social purpose and harmonize with the basic beliefs of the American people. Mr. Drucker is not unaware of the force of the collectivist challenge, but argues convincingly that the American blend of commercial realism and public-spiritedness can banish mass-unemployment and 'deliver the goods'. The fact that Free Enterprise is a casualty during Total War discredits the morbid condition which interrupts it rather than Free Enterprise itself. In other words, don't 'scrap' the free economic system, but banish war. In the course of his discussion Mr. Drucker scatters many sayings of epigrammatic pungency and horse-sense.

F. BROMPTON HARVEY

An Abridgement of Volumes I-VI of Arnold J. Toynbee's 'Study of History', by D. C. Somervell. (Oxford University Press, 25s.)

This is a very remarkable book. We know what to think of Mr. Arnold Toynbee; and Mr. Somervell, if he had not proved his great ability already, would have shown it to the discerning by the present work, for his volume is far from being a mere summary. All through there are signs of a really original mind, and occasionally he has even allowed himself to disagree with his principal. To summarize such a book in a few lines is obviously impossible, and I must content myself with a hint or two. Facts, said Macaulay, are the dross of history: Mr. Toynbee thinks they are its substance, if only they are carefully compared and balanced. Thus, whenever he has considered a certain epoch in Egyptian, Greek, or Roman annals, he seeks its parallel in Sinic or Indic story, and draws from the comparison results which are invariably enlightening, and often surprising. For instance, the slave system of the southern States of America is compared with the helotry of ancient Sparta, and it is shown how ruin was the consequence in both cases. Mr. Toynbee's range of knowledge is vast; he covers the earliest known ages and the latest with equal ease, dividing human societies into six. One marvels what his book would have been like if the twenty-one civilizations which once existed had survived. What is particularly pleasing about the book is the number of incidental remarks. For instance, in speaking of war Mr. Toynbee shows how it always degrades, not only the victor, but also the vanquished. Both are driven down a slope up which it is very hard to make a return. Similar points are made in every one of the chapters—those on the Growths of Civilizations, on Differentiation through growth, on Loss of Command over the environment, on Self-determination, on 'schism' in the social body itself. Thus China, finding Buddhism *per se* unsatisfactory, developed its own form of the religion, and—to come to more familiar ground—in Marxian Communism we have a notorious example of a modern Western philosophy which has changed, in a lifetime, quite out of recognition, into a proletarian religion taking the path of violence, and carving out its New Jerusalem with the sword on the

plains of Russia.' This is due to Karl Marx's doctrine of 'Historical Necessity', which takes the place of the ancient Yahweh—and here comes what we may regard as Mr. Toynbee's definite opinion as to the fate of our somewhat crazy civilization—a consoling one to many of us who have been inclined to despair. In the old days the existence of fifty righteous within the city would have been sufficient to save it from divine destruction; with us, despite the presence of much evil, the proportion is probably greater. 'A tottering civilization which has shamefully succumbed to the intoxication of a showy victory over physical nature, and has applied the spoils to laying up treasure for itself without being rich toward God, may be reprieved from the sentence—which it has passed upon itself—by treading out the tragic path of *koros—hubris—atē*; or, to translate this Hellenic language into a Christian imagery, an apostate Western Christendom may be given grace to be born again as a *Respublica Christiana* which was its own earlier and better ideal of what it should strive to be.' And, for the answer to the question whether this is possible, Mr. Toynbee refers us to what Christ said in answer to a similar question put by Nicodemus: A man, to enter into the Kingdom, must be born of water and of the Spirit. E. E. KELLETT

English Dissent under the Early Hanoverians, by Duncan Coomer. (Epworth Press, 6s.)

The study of the rise of evangelical religion in the eighteenth century has involved considerable attention to the relation between early Methodism with the Anglican Church. Less has been done to assess the position of the older Dissenters—Presbyterian, Baptist, or Independent—in the life of England during Wesley's time, and their reaction to the impact of the Methodist movement. Mr. Duncan Coomer's book does much to fill this gap. Though small in compass, it is able in achievement. It provides the student with a handbook, at once readable and informative, concerning the state of religion in the older Dissenting Denominations. It is a thesis for the M.A. degree at Liverpool University, and, while it does not pretend to be more than a sketch of the three older denominations, it effectively achieves its author's aim: 'to view Dissent from the inside—its zeal and its torpor, its faith and its heresies, its quiet households and its bitter controversies.' It has excellent bibliographies of 'Primary Sources', 'Local Histories', and 'Secondary Sources'. The heart of the book is the chapter on 'The Life of Dissent'. This describes the chapels, the worship (including the Sacraments), the Academies for the training of ministers and others, and the life of the Dissenters in politics, business, and their homes. There are some interesting sidelights. For instance, the Particular Baptists claim the honour of being pioneers in the singing of vernacular hymns (as distinct from metrical versions of psalms). Mr. Coomer has an eye also for such details as the nail on the wall behind the pulpit for the Puritan preacher's steeple-hat and the stoves with which church heating began about 1755. After outlining the Doctrinal Controversies and giving some detail of the Relationships with the Civil Power, the author turns to the effect of Methodism upon the older Dissenting Churches and the ill-concealed suspicion that marked their intercourse. Dissenters liked Wesley's lay preachers as little as Anglicans. Again, had the Methodists any right to take asylum under what was meant to be the earlier Dissenters' Toleration Act? Most difficult of all was the attitude of John Wesley and his more starchy brother. 'Dissenting politics Wesley abhorred and he was always severely critical of their mode of worship.' Yet Mr. Coomer shows clearly that the Dissenters were by no means without a very definite conception of Churchmanship, and, in their earliest days, they brought great spiritual gifts into fine development. When persecution ended and their worldly fortunes advanced, however, they fell on an arid period, and, in the providence of God, an Anglican preacher raised up a Church different in its origin but increasingly similar

to the Nonconformists' in mode of worship. This study of English Dissent is all the better because its writer is thoroughly loyal to the ideals and spirit of the earliest Methodists who, Churchmen in origin, were also 'the friends of all'.

HAROLD S. DÄRBY

Johnson's Early Life: The Final Narrative, by Aleyn Lyell Reade. (Percy Lund, Humphries & Co., London. Price to subscribers, 21s.)

This is Part 10 of a series of studies entitled *Johnsonian Gleanings*. Mr. Reade was working on the history of his own family, some forty years ago, when he encountered a link with the Johnsonian associations of his kinsfolk. He followed this up, and has since issued a series of volumes dealing with Dr. Johnson's ancestors, his boyhood, his later life, his household, and so on. These altogether form a unique supplement to Boswell, which cannot be neglected by any student of the life and times of 'the great lexicographer'. There is a mass of detail here, impossible to deal with in a brief review, which all illustrates the facts of Dr. Johnson's life in one way or another. For instance, in 1687 James the Second touched a number of people for 'the king's evil' in Lichfield Cathedral, and the suggestion is made that this may have led the Johnson family to take young Samuel to London, twenty-seven years later, to be touched by Queen Anne. Again, Mr. Reade shows that at Pembroke College it was only Johnson's pride that suffered, for 'the College accounts show that he fed as well as other commoners who came from comfortable and even wealthy homes'. There is a reference to Cornelius Ford, an uncle of Johnson's, who, while on a journey 'perhaps in Lincolnshire', came across a wayside inscription recording a remarkable leap and emulated it. There is no need, I think, for the 'perhaps': it was evidently Bayard's Leap, a few miles from Sleaford, on the road from Leicester to Lincoln. Again, Ward End is on the eastern side of Birmingham, not the western, and West Bromwich is north-west, not east, from the city. But, when one remembers the accumulated detail of this book, the errors are remarkably few.

HENRY BETT

Henry James: The Major Phase, by F. O. Matthiessen. (Oxford Press, 9s. 6d.)

This study, by a distinguished American literary critic, is a scholarly refutation of the shallow opinion that Henry James in his final period—waggishly described as the Old Pretender following James the First and James the Second—degenerated into wordy senility. Mr. Matthiessen insists that in the last novels—*The Ambassadors*, *The Wings of the Dove*, *The Golden Bowl*, and (unfinished) *The Ivory Tower*—he reached his greatest depth, richness, and mastery. To my mind the argument, developed with a critical knowledge that is nowadays rare, is unanswerable. The author has had the privilege of examining the eight notebooks (350,000 words) in which Henry James communed with his Muse between 1878 and 1911; the quotations not only whet the reader's appetite for the meal the published notebooks will supply, but also provide vitamins for the present feast. The novelist's finest work is scrutinized with such insight as to send the reader back to the novels with enriched, because more exact, appreciation. Moreover, in the chapter on 'The Painter's Sponge and Varnish Bottle' he traces some of the significant changes made when James revised *The Portrait of a Lady* for the collected edition, and, by showing how the mature artist improved his earlier work, disposes of the unfounded criticism that by meddling he spoilt it. Again, he illustrates both James's standards of craftsmanship and the precise methods by which he sought to bring his work into line with them. The chapter on 'The Religion of Consciousness', in which Mr. Matthiessen traces Henry James's intellectual heritage, with special reference to his Swedenborgian father and his brother, William James, culminates in the argument that James's intense

spiritual awareness 'has told others beside (T. S.) Eliot that if religion is to persist, it must be based again in coherent dogma'. 'To those who believe that if both Christianity and democracy are to endure, the next synthesis must be more rigorously based in both political economy and theology, in the theology that recognizes anew man's radical imperfection, and in the radical political economy that insists that, whether imperfect or not, men must be equal in their social opportunities, many of James's values are, oddly enough, not at all remote.' There, exasperatingly, the writer leaves us. Perhaps he will return to his profitable theme in a later volume.

R. G. BURNETT

The Life of Llewelyn Powys, by Malcolm Elwin. (John Lane, 15s.)

This is a strange case and I hope a rare one. I am reviewing the life of a well-known, and voluminous writer, of whom I have never read a line. According to Mr. Elwin he was also a great writer. There is at any rate this to be said, that his writings earned the praise of first-rate critics, and that his life makes a very interesting book. Mr. Elwin has a deep sympathy with his subject, and shows—sometimes a little aggressively—agreement with his opinions. One of the eleven children of an Evangelical Church of England vicar, Llewelyn made up his mind to become a pagan. Some respect may be due to those who thus decide after long reflection and study, but I can trace no sign in Powys of anything, in the first stages, but caprice and wilfulness. Later, he did study, but it was plainly with a determination to continue as he had begun. This 'paganism', as he understood it, involved the enjoyment of every pleasure that life can afford; and it is positively astonishing to see how, whenever he met a woman of any attraction, he fell in love with her on the spot, and discarded her when he tired of her charms. All these amorous adventures he detailed with complete frankness to his elder brother, and Mr. Elwin has, I think quite rightly, given us a full account of them, as necessary to an understanding of his character. But there were better things in him than this absurd libertinage. Afflicted all his life with a combined attack of phthisis and indigestion, he met both with superb courage. Time after time the doctors gave him up, but somehow he survived; and it would seem that his determination was the secret of his survival. In the intervals between his various attacks he employed himself either in travel or in writing—with portentous diligence—the thirty books which are listed by Mr. Elwin at the end of the *Life*. In addition to all this—and he was at times schoolmaster, lecturer, farm manager, and journalist too—he was constantly writing letters, of which Mr. Elwin gives a large, but as he owns, a far from comprehensive selection. One of these is to President Franklin Roosevelt, for when Powys felt he wanted something done, he preferred to say it to those who might influence events. Mr. Elwin speaks of his personal charm. Most of this, of course, has evaporated in the printed page. But one thing is visible and palpable. This large family was united by a rare affection, surely deserving the word 'love' by which Llewelyn describes it. It was perhaps strongest between him and his eldest brother John, but every one of the family had for every other a 'love' which would be remarkable even between twin children. Interesting and readable as Mr. Elwin is, his style is marred by an ignorance, or a defiance, of the rules of *oratio obliqua*. Of this there are scores of examples; one or two must suffice. 'One birthday he sent a cable to his brother John to show him that "I had at any rate reached forty years".' 'In the delight of recovering from illness he fell "into a bad way owing to my inordinate passion for cream".' Though Mr. Elwin has not tempted me to adopt Powys's views, or even to read any of his books, he has given us, despite obvious drawbacks, a portrait of a man which will not easily fade from memory.

E. E. KELLETT

God's Action Within the Soul, by F. H. Allen. (S.C.M., 6s.)

The World's Ransom, by E. R. Micklem. (S.C.M., 6s.)

The Inner Life, by W. F. P. Chadwick. (Canterbury Press, 6s.)

The first of these books is an adaptation of a university thesis, and considers the question of God's activity *within* the soul as distinguished from His activity *toward* the soul. Is it possible to believe in the former if one believes also that God never uses compulsion toward us? The author thinks so, and argues his case against the views of Dr. Tennant, without much aid from Dr. Oman and Professor H. H. Farmer, though he thinks, nonetheless, that they are on his side. He insists on human freedom, answers the challenge of determinism, and rests the weight of his thesis on human experience (as shown in the Bible and Christian history) and a group of arguments concerning God's moral purpose in the world. In illustration of God's action within the soul, he instances Guidance, Assistance in the Moral Life, and Revelation. Finally, he seeks to panel God's action in the soul into the wider background of His action within the world as a whole. While the book is slight and the case is set down in little more than outline, the subject is important, and this small volume will nourish the faith of folk fearing to 'venture upon God' in personal and practical trust lest the intellectual grounds for so doing should be quite unsubstantial.

Dr. Micklem first thought to call his book *Variations on the Theme of the Four Evangelists*. The rejected title (despite its limitations) indicates the kind of book he has written. In thirty brief chapters he retells the Gospel story from our Lord's birth to His ascension. While the theme is familiar, the merit of Dr. Micklem's book is that, while he resists the itch to say something quite new about the Gospel (and almost certainly, therefore, something quite untrue), he nonetheless often sets the familiar in an unfamiliar light, and his book will provoke many readers gratefully to say: 'I never saw it on this wise.' Bible-class leaders, eager to take their members through the Gospels again, missing no major event and teaching them intelligently to read the books themselves, will give him special thanks.

The third book is both helpful and stimulating. It belongs to the series called 'St. Paul's Library', which aims to expound the Anglican interpretation of Evangelical Theology. Paying a just tribute to the Free Church writers, who, for many years past, have voiced the Evangelical interpretation of Christian theology, the Bishop of Sodor and Man (in the General Preface) argues that the Church of England has its own distinctive contribution to make in this segment of scholarship. If Mr. Chadwick's book is a fair sample of the series, it should do great good. It is not solid theology—not seriously to be compared with P. T. Forsyth or H. R. Mackintosh's books, for instance—for it seeks to help the intelligent amateur as well as the trained student; but, with that double objective in view, the book marches forward and reaches its goal. It is true that in the chapter in which Mr. Chadwick examines the teaching of Schleiermacher, he fears that he may have lost sight of the 'intelligent amateur', but he threads his way with a skill which will be admired most by those who have attempted a similar task, and no earnest amateur, ready to examine the chapter twice, will complain. It is fine to read an Anglican on the doctrine of Assurance—and turning for help to Charles Wesley; fine, also, to follow a reverent examination of our Lord's 'inner life'; fine, too, to have the question raised again of the *summum bonum* of our human existence; and good to meditate with this author on the culture of the soul, on methods of prayer, and on the reception of supernatural love. To all who feel the need of being 'strengthened in the inner man', and who want a book not only devout but thoughtful and truly competent in dealing with the foundations of the evangelical faith, this volume can be most warmly commended.

W. E. SANGSTER

Treasures from the Bible. (George Allen & Unwin, 7s. 6d.)

The Throne of Christ, by W. Lawson Jones. (Epworth Press, 5s.)

Ten Words to Christian Disciples, by R. H. Copestake. (Epworth Press, 6d.)

A selection of any sort is open to a reviewer's criticism. *Quot homines, tot sententiae.* In the case of mass-observation criticism is blunted. These *Treasures from the Bible*, some seventy in number, were chosen by taking a poll of American pastors and chaplains, who were asked what Bible portions are most helpful in these days. While the preface, quite rightly, omits to state the figures, the first thirty-three passages are arranged in order of extent of appeal. So here are the most 'comfortable words' of Holy Scripture. The list commences with John 14 and the 23rd Psalm. Then follow the Beatitudes, and, strangely enough, all the eighth chapter of Romans, and then Paul's hymn of love and the 91st Psalm. The volume would find a useful place among bedside books.

In his latest book Mr. Lawson Jones deals with the supremacy of the spiritual and the vital importance of the soul. Every chapter enforces, with psychological insight, the necessity for the formation of true character. But all work up to the concluding sentence, which at last justifies the title,—'We have been purchased unto God by the blood of Christ that, through us, He may rule more and more in human life.' The previous page explains 'blood' by 'crucifixion'. The chapter 'Nothing but the Truth' is headed 'And ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free', but should this be used without the preceding conditional clause? The book is written in short, terse sentences, precise and clean-cut, and there are no purple patches. Here lies its strength. Every sentence commands attention and provokes thought.

Mr. Copestake's booklet is appropriate for placing in the hands of a new convert.

T. H. M.

Contrasts: The Arts and Religion, by Alec Robertson. (S.C.M., 6s.)

In this interesting book, Mr. Robertson discusses a much debated theme—the relation of 'The Arts and Religion'. He contrasts John Keats and Maritain, Bach and Handel, Milton and Shakespeare, A. E. Housman and Manley Hopkins, El Greco, Blake and Van Gogh. He thus deals with the work of poets, musicians, artists, and a philosopher, and points out the contrasts and also the underlying unity in their work. He says: 'The total impression left upon the unprejudiced mind must be that art and religion are twin manifestations of the spirit.' Mr. Robertson has chosen carefully the characters to illustrate his theme, and in dealing with them and seeking to show their religious outlook there is little difficulty, but his thesis would have been harder to sustain had he not chosen his artists so carefully. We believe, however, that if he had chosen artists who reveal less clearly their religion, he would have been able to show that in all great artistic work there is a kinship with religion. For Christ stands amongst the poets and artists. How well has a great artist said: 'Christ lived serenely an artist, greater than all artists, disdaining marble, clay, and colour, working in human flesh.' We hope this book will have a wide circulation. If another edition is called for, a more careful attention should be given to the dates of El Greco and William Blake. But the book takes us to the heart of things—to the centre of unity amid life's diversity—and makes us realize the truth of the words written by Van Gogh, and quoted by Mr. Robertson: 'To try to understand the real significance of what the great artists, the serious masters, tell us in their masterpieces, *that* leads to God.' We must, however, note the adjectives: 'great', 'serious'. It is with such artists that Mr. Robertson deals and they all dwell within the territory of the kingdom of heaven.

W. BARDSLEY BRASH

Cleopatra in the Tide of Time, by Oliver Ellis. A Publication of the Poetry Lovers' Fellowship and International Fellowship of Literature. (Williams and Norgate, 12s. 6d.)

We live in an age of whitewash. Till recently we may have imagined that a certain man was thoroughly bad; we are now taught that he was respectable and maligned. Even the Borgias turn out to be a decent family—a few murders after all were only what might be expected in their times and with their temptations. This is not, what Acton and Freeman complained of, that historians seemed to have forgotten the difference between right and wrong: it is rather that they are beginning to deny that evil men and women have ever really existed. In this pleasant little book Dr. Ellis applies this doctrine to Cleopatra, who certainly needs it, for the Romans regarded her as the worst of women, the ruin of Antony, and the futile temptress of Octavian. There is something of course to be said for her, or Dr. Ellis would not say it. He is right in telling us that the Romans were very slow in understanding the minds of other peoples; and he is right in reminding us that in the case of Cleopatra we have only one side of the picture. But when he goes farther, and declares that Cleopatra was the bride of Osiris, and therefore outside our range of vision, we are inclined to rebel. The value of his book lies elsewhere. He gives us a rapid, but also a keen and often witty account, of Shakespeare's play; he adds to it an analysis of Fletcher's *False One*. Here he seems to agree with Saintsbury's opinion that this old play approaches and sometimes reaches the first class. The chapter in which Dr. Ellis deals with this tragedy is by itself enough to stamp him as a critic of a very high order. But it is excelled by the chapter on Dryden's *All for Love, or the World Well Lost*. To Shaw's play Dr. Ellis rightly gives little attention: it is but a toy, written for the author's amusement. We hope we shall see more of Dr. Ellis's work in the near future.

E. E. KELLETT

The Rose and Bottle and Other Essays, by Seumas O'Sullivan. (The Talbot Press, Dublin, 5s.)

This is a volume of studies concerned with the Irish literary scene. The title is from the name of a wine vault in Dublin which was a rendezvous of artists and authors. A large part of the book is about book-hunting among the shops and stalls on the banks of the Liffey, with glimpses of famous men like Edward Dowden and Dr. Grosart, who were on the same quest. The most interesting essays to an English reader are those which deal with Goldsmith. There is a passage on the rather puzzling business of the first editions, in England and Ireland, of *The Deserted Village*, and some curious details about the singular series of imitations of the poem, such as *The Frequented Village* (1771), *The Happy Village* (1802), and *The Rising Village* (1825). This last was by a relative and namesake of Goldsmith. The oddest thing in this connexion, however, is the account of an alleged poem—one cannot call it more—entitled *The Fair Hibernian*, by Colonel Lawrence, published in 1789. The preface says that the heroine was 'a native of those celebrated plains which inspired my friend and schoolfellow, the late Dr. Goldsmith, with the first idea of his *Deserted Village*', and adds: 'I promised the Doctor, not long before his death, that I would restore some of the Auburn flock, and that "the sad historian of the pensive plain" should weep no longer.' Now this Colonel Lawrence, who distinguished himself at the Battle of Minden, was a great-grandson of the friend of Milton, to whom the latter's famous sonnet, 'Lawrence, of virtuous father virtuous son', was addressed with its question:

*Where shall we sometimes meet, and by the fire
Help waste a sullen day?*

It is a curious link between Milton and Goldsmith.

HENRY BETT

From My New Shelf

BY C. RYDER SMITH

Reformation Old and New, edited by F. W. Camfield. (Lutterworth Press, 18s.)

There are still those who are puzzled by Barthianism, for, spite Barth's protests, we cannot do without the word. There are others who desire to keep pace with the detailed exposition of Barth's theology, on which he has been busy since 1932. To both these classes this volume will be very welcome. It is not only 'a tribute to Karl Barth' on his sixtieth birthday, but an exposition, under his guidance, of the true principles of the Reformation, from which Protestantism, on his account, largely departed in its 'scholastic' period, and to which Calvin himself, it is claimed, was not always altogether true. A 'tribute', of course, does not undertake criticism. Again, while the writers expound Barth's own replies to his critics, especially under the problem of 'natural theology', they don't attempt to carry his *apologia* any further than he does. Is he to join the company of those who 'are right in what they affirm and wrong in what they deny'? The editor himself writes by far the longest essay. It is really a series of essays. After showing that Barthianism began as a 'spiritual (as distinct from an academic) movement', he devotes himself to a very able exposition of his master's 'Doctrine of God'. This, of course, is the fundamental doctrine. While he and his collaborators cannot, of course, altogether avoid repeating each other, their subjects do not overlap unduly. They are 'Reformation Issues Today', 'The Word of God and the Nature of Man', 'The Rediscovery of the Bible', 'The Faith that Saves', 'The Church Catholic and Reformed', 'The Crisis in Philosophy', and 'The State and Divine Law'. While all are excellent, Mr. Jenkins' essay on the Church and Dr. Hodges' on Philosophy may perhaps be specially named. The former shows that justice is not done to 'the congregation's' spiritual ministry in *any* church. Though the essay does not help us with the practical difficulty of distinguishing between the local church and what is ordinarily called 'the congregation', here Barth is undoubtedly right. Dr. Hodges sets himself to show that the philosophy which has prevailed in Western thought since Plato is now bankrupt, and that Barth may be showing the way to the true *Christian* philosophy. One of the most interesting subjects in the book is the account of Barth's doctrine of Election. While proceeding by a rather different route, he reaches much the same goal as Arminius. God '*willeth* that all men should be saved', but any man may frustrate this 'election' of himself. The essays were written before Barth's last volume appeared, and he may still have surprises for us, but it is not likely that they will seriously affect major issues. There are lists of Barth's works, and of those translated into English (but no index). These lists, of course, are formidable—not to mention the many books *about* Barth. If anyone asks, 'Is there one book that will tell me, as clearly as may be, what Barthianism is?', this is his book.

Moses, by Martin Buber. (East and West Library, Phaidon Press, 12s. 6d.)

Anyone who wants to keep abreast of the progress of current Biblical and theological thought must take account of Martin Buber. His books are gradually reaching us in English translations, but here is a volume written in English. Sometimes it looks as if he had *thought* in German, but his meaning is always clear. At first sight it is remarkable that the writer of this book should be a Professor in a Hebrew University, but, apart from the two 'articles' that there is One God and that Israel is His people, Judaism has never committed itself to an integrated creed. Buber is no 'fundamentalist' or 'traditionalist', and therefore no typical Rabbi.

As the three hundred notes in this book show, he knows all that the textual critics, the ethnologists and the archaeologists have to say, and he is far from repudiating it *en masse*. He does not agree in the distinction made between documents E and J, but he allows that the Deuteronomic and Priestly writings are written in later styles and show the influences of later thought. His method is to go behind even the earliest documents and appeal to 'saga'. In other words, like many New Testament scholars today, he turns to an 'oral tradition' that preceded all written sources. In this book he hardly says anything about the 'Mosaic law', apart from the Decalogue. Instead, as one would expect of the writer of *I and Thou*, he turns to what Moses *did*. Here he omits the Birth Stories—for he believes that the Birth Stories of heroes are usually inventions—but deals with every other story of any importance found in Exodus and Numbers, except the story of the Brazen Serpent. This is a curious omission. In dealing with every story he looks for the 'saga' that, clearly or obscurely, lies behind it. He does not furnish any elaborate account of his *criteria* here, but suggests that where there is rhythm there is likely to be saga, and also where some one key-word is repeated like a kind of refrain. To these he adds the customs that the ethnology of the ancient East has unearthed. Sometimes he seems to press his claims rather hard, as, for instance, in his account of the saga behind the story of Korah. The chief passage for him is, of course, the story of the Burning Bush, for it is a master example of what he elsewhere calls 'Dialogism'. Here God challenged Moses, and here Moses responded to the challenge—and went on to make, under God, the oldest extant people. Buber holds that in Moses' day JHVH, perhaps in an earlier form, was already an old Hebrew name for God and that the Hebrew phrase rendered 'What is his name?' does not bear the meaning of this English phrase. He argues that it means, in effect, 'What is the meaning and worth of this old name?'; what good had the 'name' been to Israel in the long sojourn in Egypt? Israel was now to learn what it meant; now, the name was to explain itself in the action of God. If its form now changed, this would illustrate Buber's account of Moses' 'originality'. He holds that this 'creator's' way was to take over some old custom, transform its meaning, and make it live, as Shakespeare made Holinshed live—and more. For Buber Moses is a prophet but far more than a prophet. In him there was act, effective act, as well as word. And, on any showing, is he not one of the masters of history?

Jesus and Woman, by Lady Hosie. (Hodder & Stoughton, 8s. 6d.)

'I want to behave like a Christian gentleman to my wife.' When Lady Hosie visited many parts of China in 1936, she heard statements of this kind many times, and she was faced with the question 'Where (in the Gospels) do Christian husbands in the West read any instructions as to how they ought to behave to their wives?' Pondering the question, she rightly saw that the answer lies in a study of Jesus' whole attitude to women—and in due time she has written this book. She gives most space to St. Matthew and after him to St. John. Under the former she goes through the whole Gospel, noting and expounding everything that relates, however slightly, to womanhood, and not hesitating to leave her immediate theme in order to show the exquisite 'balance of the sexes' in the record. She then shows that what is found in Mark is found also in Matthew, explores Luke's additional matter, and shows how the Fourth Evangelist 'fills in the colours'. She has an introductory chapter on 'Woman in non-Christian Religions' (omitting Parsism), and throughout the book she has illuminating illustrations of 'heathen' ways, particularly in China. Many of the stories are the more effective because they are autobiographical. In a very few places all will not agree with her. For instance, it is hardly true that most scholars assign the First and Fourth Gospels, as we have them, to Matthew

and the son of Zebedee. Again—apart, at any rate, from a possible Jew or two—had Paul any 'polygamous converts'? Were not both the Greeks and the Romans monogamists? Again, to me it seems that Lady Hosie, like many others, does not do justice to John 11²², where the Greek says, as R.V. margin suggests, that Jesus was indignant with *Mary*. But Lady Hosie has fulfilled her task with rare success, for it has been no 'task' but an enterprise of love. Further, her book, like the Gospels, is 'objective', and so shares some of their charm. There are five valuable appendices, including a list of references to womanhood and the home in the later parts of the New Testament, and a Gospel 'harmony' under the 'Conversations', 'Miracles', and 'Parables' that relate to women. There is an ample index, which also follows the method of 'harmonies of the Gospels'. This is not only a very thorough book, but a very 'live' one.

The Holy Communion, a Symposium, edited by Hugh Martin. (S.C.M., 6s.)

Dr. Hugh Martin has asked representatives of the Seven Churches of England to set down briefly and clearly the doctrine and practice, each of his own Church, in regard to the most controversial of Christian subjects. As he says, the various accounts show that even here the Churches have much in common. This is true to some degree even of the Friends. Father Vann, the Roman Catholic contributor, rather strangely, says little directly of the distinctive beliefs and rites of his Church. Five of the other writers, while they describe their Churches' *differentiae*, rightly put them in a larger context. Mr. Gordon Rupp (who includes, rather surprisingly, a brief sketch of Brevint's life) describes the Methodist doctrine chiefly by inference from hymns—which is no bad way. He thinks the Alternative Service in the *Book of Offices* 'rather a botch'. An introductory chapter on the origin of the Sacrament and its development in the first two or three centuries is, on the whole, well done. Dr. Martin says of those who hold any particular doctrine: 'Only if (their) interpretation is forbidden should separation and dissent be necessary.' This seems to mean that the formularies of a true Church ought to permit the holding of *any* doctrine, however extreme. Is this so? But this small book tells Christians, with a minimum of technical terms, what other Christians believe—doing thereby a much needed service.

Christian Initiation, by A. E. J. Rawlinson. (S.P.C.K., 1s.)

Here the Bishop of Derby, agreeing with Dom Gregory Dix that in the second century Baptism, Chrism, and the Laying-on of Hands formed one complex rite of initiation into the Church, and that the two latter were reserved for bishops, goes on to examine several questions. The first is 'How did the three come to form one rite?' Here there is a careful discussion of the evidence of the New Testament and other very early Christian documents. On this subject scholars are now moving toward agreement. The second question is 'What was involved when, the three parts of the rite remaining together in the Eastern Church, the two latter ceased to be the prerogative of the bishop (apart from the consecration, at a distance, of the oil)?' The third is 'What did the two latter rites signify when they were separated from Baptism in the West?' The fourth is 'Why did the Church of England cease to use the chrism at the Reformation?' And the fifth is, 'Ought the Anglican Church today always to refuse to receive at the Lord's Table all members of Christian communions that do not practise Confirmation?' The Bishop assumes that, when the Baptism of infants became usual, Baptism with the Spirit still accompanied Baptism with water. He seems silently to disagree with Dom Dix's contention that the Baptism of Infants, however common, ought to be reckoned abnormal, and he dismisses some of Father Thornton's suggestions as fanciful. Those who wish to keep

abreast of the current discussion of Confirmation in the Anglican Church should not neglect this small but weighty book.

The Anglicanism of William Laud, by E. C. E. Bourne. (S.P.C.K., 12s. 6d.)

This book is an *apologia* for Laud and an attack upon the Puritans. It comes near saying everything that can be said either in favour of the former or against the latter. It is unfortunate that Mr. Bourne almost omits Scotland in his discussion, for it is there that Laud is most open to censure. Did he do no more *there* than enforce the law of the land, as Mr. Bourne claims that he did in England? To define Puritanism, both in Laud's day and in ours (!), Mr. Bourne selects, 'rather unkindly' as he says, 'Bibliolatry, Manichaeism, and Papophobia'. Elsewhere he maintains that the fundamental motive of such men as Pym and Hampden was the defence of the 'vested interests' of the new 'plutocracy'. They seem to have been 'Manichaean capitalists'! Or again, Mr. Bourne charges Milton with being a 'believer in the infallibility of John Milton', but this seemingly only to mean that Milton did not write until he had made up his mind. I have not noticed any such phrase as 'I may be wrong' in the many places where Mr. Bourne expounds his own strong opinions. In his book there is a good deal of repetition, and his expositions of government in England in the centuries both before and since Laud's time are rather prolix, but the book has substantial merits. In particular, Mr. Bourne succeeds in his main purpose. The figure of Laud stands out clearly, freed alike from the slanders of his own day, the misinterpretations of such Whig writers as Macaulay, and the modern exaggeration of his ritualism. Mr. Bourne, who finds much truth even in his hero's dead political doctrine, shows clearly that the great moderate party in the Anglicanism of today was created, or rather, preserved, by Laud (though, *pace* Mr. Bourne, the belief that the three Orders of Ministry are themselves found in the New Testament is giving way to the claim that they have their roots there). This author agrees with other recent writers that fundamentally Laud was a great College 'don', as his ordering of Oxford, for instance, shows. There is no doubt that he was a great saint. This book, I think, is meant to be provocative, but it tells the truth about Laud. There are good reproductions of Van Dyck's portrait and of two illuminating contemporary cartoons, and Laud's own words are often quoted.

The Coming Great Church, by Theodore O. Wedel. (S.C.M., 7s. 6d.)

Canon Wedel, brought up among the Mennonites, was drawn early in life to the Anglican Church by the beauty of its historic liturgy. He is now Warden of the College of Preachers at Washington. As the title of his book shows, he looks eagerly forward to the organic re-union of Christendom—or, more immediately, to the re-union of Protestantism, for he does not hesitate to call the Anglican Church 'Protestant'. He sees good in all the Churches—and imperfection too. He deals with the usual subjects—Authority, Tradition, the Historic Episcopate, and the rest. Here and there one may challenge his findings—for instance, is the Church 'the Kingdom in History'? While it is true that there was a Church before there was a New Testament, did not the *Kerugma* which the New Testament embodies, precede the Church? Is it not as futile to discuss whether the individual Christian or the Church is primary as to ask which focus in an ellipse precedes the other? But in its main purpose the book will carry the minds of many Free Churchmen with it. At the end Canon Wedel earnestly pleads with his Anglo-Catholic brethren to consider once more whether the doctrine of Apostolic Succession is vital to the acceptance of the Historic Episcopate. Throughout his book he puts a familiar case in a fresh and large-hearted way.

The Churches Pictured by 'Punch', by A. L. Drummond. (Epworth Press, 5s.)

Punch, now a centenarian, has always had an eye on the Churches, particularly the Anglican Church. Dr. Drummond, treading in the footsteps of Mr. Wallace Duthie, traces the story of the great journal's ecclesiastical humour, making comments and occasionally suggestions. He divides the hundred years into two parts, the one passing into the other as the nineteenth century waned. In the first he finds that there was a policy behind the humour, but in the second little more than the poking of fun. Here, as he says, *Punch* reflects the change in the attitude of the ordinary educated Englishman to 'organized religion'. He cares much less about its 'internal affairs' than he did. Dr. Drummond thinks that here *Punch* might well seek the old paths. Of course the book is crammed with jokes of a high order, and there are six cartoons. This is a book to make everyone laugh and some people think.

BOOKLETS AND PAMPHLETS

In America the 'Churches of Christ' are a much larger denomination than in England. They arose in the last century in protest against sectarianism, looking for Christian unity by a return to New Testament doctrine and practice as they understood them. In this country Dr. William Robinson is their leading exponent. A reprint of his booklet, *What Churches of Christ Stand For* (Berean Press, Birmingham, 1s.), has long been overdue, for it is an altogether admirable account of their 'origin, growth and message'. . . . Last year a group of young Christians who 'mean business' held a series of Rallies at Westminster Chapel under the watch-word *Revival in Our Time* (RIOT!). Eight addresses were given and these are now published under the same title (Paternoster Press, 2s.). They are simple and direct, Biblical and evangelical, and they burn with the true fire. . . . *The Story of Latvia and Her Neighbours* (Scottish League for European Freedom, Edinburgh, 1s. 6d.) is an historical survey prepared from Prof. Arveds Schwabe's researches. It is a factual record, but it will move the heart of any lover of small but heroic peoples. . . . The National Association of Girls' Clubs, etc. (30 Devonshire Street, W.1), send us two pamphlets. One, *Guests of the New Forest*, by Doris James (1s.), first tells the story of the Forest in a bright and right way and then describes a Guest House in it for girls and boys. The other, *Foreign Holidays* (6d.), is a collection of 'brass tacks' for Club Leaders, and all the tacks seem to be there.

NOTABLE ARTICLES IN PERIODICALS

Bulletin of Rylands Library, May (Manchester University Press, 2s. 6d.).

Geoffrey of Monmouth's Use of the Bible, by Jacob Hammer.

The Life of Jesus: A Survey of the Available Material; (5) The Fourth Gospel, by T. W. Manson.

Deux etapes de l'Utopisme humaniste (Boccaccio and Rabelais), by Paul Renucci.

Menander: Plays of Social Criticism, by T. B. L. Webster.

The Presbyter, Second Quarter (J. Clarke, 1s.).

The Cambridge Reformers, by E. G. Rupp.

Time and Eternity, by John Marsh.

The Song of Songs, by Ursula B. Stubbs.

The Reformed Worship in Great Britain, by N. Micklem.

The Future of Christian Apologetics, by H. H. Hoskins.

The Journal of Religion, April (University of Chicago, via Cambridge Press, \$1.25).

Ancient History and Modern Unbelief, by V. A. Demant.

God and the Soul: Augustine on the Devotional Life, by Roger Hazelton.

The Religious Philosophy of Samuel Alexander, by John K. McGreary.

Some Reflections on Wieman's 'Source of Human Good', by H. H. Farmer.

Die Zeichen der Zeit, Heft 4/5, May (Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, Berlin 18, Georgenkirchstrasse, 70, R.M. 3).

Zur Aufgabe der Verkündigung in der Gegenwart, by Hermann Dietzfelbinger.

'Konfessionalismus' und 'Unionismus', by Harald Kruska.

Wo ist unser Platz in der Gemeinde?, by August Knorr.

The Expository Times, July (T. & T. Clark, 1s. 3d.).

The Unity of the New Testament: The Doctrine of the Atonement, by Vincent Taylor.

Nehemiah-Ezra?, by W. M. F. Scott.

The Expository Times, August (T. & T. Clark, 1s. 3d.).

The Unity of the New Testament: New Testament Ethics, by G. W. Manson

Matthew and Paul, by C. H. Dodd

The Prophets and Sacrifice, by H. H. Rowley

The Hibbert Journal, July (Allen & Unwin, 2s. 6d.).

The Birth of the Christian Religion, by the late Alfred Loisy.

The Modernness of Kierkegaard, by J. M. Lloyd Thomas.

Gabriel Marcel on Faith and Unbelief, by M. Jarrett-Kerr.

Reason, Inspiration, and Telepathy, by G. N. M. Tyrrell.

The Scientific Bases for Belief, by John Nance.

The Congregational Quarterly, July (Independent Press, 2s. 6d.)

Congregationalism and Creeds, by J. T. Hardyman.

The Wrath and the Mercy of God, by W. A. Whitehouse.

Go Ye and Teach (Christian Education), by G. R. Barrell.

The Art of Interviewing (in Pastoral Work), by L. J. Tizard.

The International Review of Missions, July (Oxford Press, 3s.).

Education and Evangelism, by J. W. C. Dougall.

The Work of a Teacher in Africa, by E. A. W. Engmann.

The Educational Advisership in East Africa, by L. B. Greaves.

East and West in Christian Universities in China, by F. S. Drake.

The Task of the Church in South America (except Brazil).

The Theological Validity of Jewish Missions, by Jakob Jocz.

A Rural Programme in (East) Africa, by Kenneth H. Prior.

The Yale Review, Summer (Yale University Press, via Oxford Press, \$1).

Ideology or Balance of Power?, by William G. Carleton.

The State of the Novel, by Robert M. Coates.

The Poetry of Thomas Gray, by Lord David Cecil.

The American Position in the Mediterranean, by William Reitzel.

Impressions of a Visit to India, by Merle Curti.

Studies in Philology, April (University of North Carolina, via Cambridge Press, \$1.25).

Kellows and Fenton's Translations of Guevara's *Epistolae Familiares*, by Jeannette Fellheimer.

Spenser and the Munster Officials, by Alexander C. Judson.

Bradley Revisited: Forty Years After, by Lily B. Campbell.

Milton's 'Brief Epic', by Charles W. Jones.

A Critical Survey of Scholarship in the Field of Spanish Renaissance Literature, 1914-44, by Otis H. Green.

London is a quarterly review in aid of the Bishop of London's Reconstruction Fund (Appeal Office, Fulham Palace, S.W.6, 1s.), but its first number is much more than an appeal for money. It will interest all who love the historic churches of London.

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